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CROSSING THE PYRENEES: PATHS OF CULTURAL INTERACTION AND TRANSMISSION IN THE CENTRAL MIDDLE AGES

by

Rebecca Ellen Church

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
in History
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

December 2013

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Constance H. Berman

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Graduate College
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PH.D. THESIS

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To my husband, Farshad, son, Bijan, and daughter, Sheyda who have each lifted me up when I have stumbled along the way, with all my love and gratitude, and for my beloved dad, forever a Hawkeye.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACH: "Documentos Árabes del Catedral de Huesca," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos*, vol. 5, no.1, 1-48

ATG: Archives Départmentales de Tarn et Garonne

BGC: *Becerro Gótico de Cardeña*, ed., Don Luciano Serrano, Paris: Alph. Picard et fils, 1910.

CDP: *Colección Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra*, ed., Antonio Ubeto Arteta, Zaragoza: Publicaciones de la Seccion de Zaragoza, 1951

CNQ: *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Foy de Conques en Rouerge*, ed., Gustave Desjardins, Paris: Alph. Picard, 1879

CSC: *La Documentación del Tumbo a de la Catedral de Santiago*, ed., Manuel Lucas Álvarez Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro," 1997

DCB: *Documentacion de la cathedral de Burgos (804-1183)*, ed., José Manuel Garrido Garrido, Burgos: Ediciones Garrido Garrido, 1983

DMH: *Documentos Municipal de Huesca, 1100-1350*, ed., Carlos Laliena Corbera, Huesca: 1988

DSG: *Documentos de Sigena*, ed., Agustín Ubieto Arteta, Valencia: 1972

FCH: *Fuentes para la historia de Castilla*, vol. III, Madrid: G. Del Amo, 1906-1910.

HGH: Archives Departmentales de l'Haute Garonne, Fond H

HSJ: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem (1100-1310),* ed., J. Delaville le Roulx, Paris: Leroux, 1894-1906, 4 vol.

LMT: *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los Siglos XII y XIII*, Ángel González Palencia, Madrid: Catedrático de Literatura Arábigo Española en la Universidad de Madrid, 1978, 3 vols.

LOB: *Livre d'Or de Bayonne Textes Latins et Gascons du Xe au XIVe Siècle*, ed., J. Bidache, Paris: 1906

NDS: *Documents inedits de Saintonge, la Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre Dame de Saintes,* vol.II, ed., Th. Grasilier, Paris: 1873

PAG: Archives Dèpartmentales de Pyrennées Atlantique, Series G.

RAD: *El Reino de Castilla en la Epoca de Alfonso VIII*, ed., Julio Gonzalez, Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1960

SJB: *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Juan de Burgos, 1091-1400*, ed., F. Javier Peña Pérez, Burgos: Ediciones Garrido Garrido, 1983

SJP: *Colección diplomática de San Juan de la Peña,* Madrid: 1904

SMC: *Grand Cartulaire de La-Sauve-Majeure,* eds. Charles Higounet et Arlette Higounet-Nadal, Bordeaux: 1996

SSO: *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (1032-1284)*, ed., Isabel Oceja Gonzalo Burgos: Ediciones J.M.Garrido Garrido, 1983

SSL: *Documentación medieval de Leire: siglos IX a XII*, Pamplona: 1983

SST: *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse (844-1200),* ed. Célestin Douais, Paris: Alph. Picard, 1887

SVO: *Colección diplomatica del Monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo, anos 781-1200*, ed., Pedro Floriano Llorente, Oviedo: 1968

SZC: *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1047-1300),* ed., Julio A. Pérez Celada Palencia: Ediciones J. M. Garrido Garrido, 1986

UCC*: La Reina Urraca (1109-1126): Cancillería y Colección Diplomatica*, ed., Irene Ruiz Alba, Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro," 2003

INTRODUCTION

The object of this study is relatively simple, perhaps. It is to document the pathways navigated in the Central Middle Ages by cultural influence between Islamic Iberia and the South of France, Occitania. This study focuses on establishing the contact and communication that created a pathway for culture--materials, concepts, *mentalités*--to cross the linguistic, religious, cultural and geographic frontiers separating the Islamic world and Occitania. The influences that followed this pathway might be reflected in religious beliefs, art and architecture, technology, literature, even concepts of identity and worldview, but those expansive subjects are beyond the scope of this study. Instead, the conditions necessary for and the process of acculturation are the main focus of attention, using medieval documents of practice, charters.

In 1134, the abbess of Notre-Dame-de-Saintes in Southern France made a trek across the Pyrenees to Saint-James of Compostela in Spain. There her nephew, William XI of Aquitaine, was on pilgrimage and she needed to get his assent to a document concerning her abbey's minting rights. It was also to Saint-James of Compostela that in 1150, Alfonso VII of Castile, surrounded by people with names connoting Islamic world origins, such as Peter Moor al-Dail, Ciprian Ibn Amut, Juan Saracen, and Stephan Ibn Ulemia, made a generous gift of lands around the city of Toledo. While these two events might seem unrelated and worlds apart, both events were part of interacting worlds of intermarriage, conflict and exchange. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Iberia acted as a nexus through which Islamic-world culture diffused over the Pyrenees into Southern France.

My conception of this project began while I was studying charter records, documents of practice, from Southern French monasteries and pondering ideas of syncretism, the twelfth-century renaissance, and immigration. Charters recorded important events, often economic or political transactions, detailing the participants, the property involved, the witnesses, and other attendees, along with other information that was deemed relevant to the event. My initial construction of the possible connection between these ideas and sources was that charters could

provide the means to document pathways of cultural influence through identifying individuals who operated in Iberia and Southern France and interacted with Arabophone, Islamic culture. What I found was much less straightforward but much deeper, broader and more long-standing than I had expected. While there were a few well-known individuals who did fit my initial construction, identifying others through charter records was not easily done. However, charters from certain areas provided abundant evidence of the connections, communications, and interaction, each providing at least a leg of the journey between the Arabophone world and Occitania. Even as details of specific individuals are fleeting, appearing usually only once in hundreds of charters, contact and interaction between people from Occitania and Iberia, including Arabophones, was considerable.

What is presented here is by no means a complete accounting of the evidence of deep, broad and longstanding ties between Occitanians and North Iberians, on the one hand, and North Iberians and Arabophone culture, on the other. Instead I have tried to present a representative picture of evidence of contact and interaction before 1200 between these cultural spheres as found in charters. While the languages used in medieval Iberia were many, encompassing spoken and written forms of Arabic, Latin, and Romance in use across the peninsula, charters used only a few of these languages. Latin was the predominant language of charters written by monasteries and political chanceries in the Christian kingdoms of the north, with occasional charters in the vernacular. The language of Mozarab and Muslim charters of Toledo and Huesca was a form of Arabic, with heavy use of Ibero-North African vocabulary. Since this study relies on the evidence in charters, generated by a relatively small group of scribes, conclusions about languages used by the population at large, both spoken and written, are elusive. Even so, charters can be interrogated for evidence of the means of acculturation, contact, interaction, and communication, as well as evidence of acculturation itself.

The Latin language charters of Northern Iberian monasteries and royal chanceries provide evidence of cross-cultural contact, communication and interaction in a variety of ways. These charters record the acquisition of properties by monasteries and churches, the distribution

of properties by kings and queens, as well as the settlement of disputes over rights and properties by church and royal authorities. While charters can be formulaic, they record gatherings of people for important ceremonial purposes. Because the purpose is quasi-legal, protecting the rights and ownership recorded therein, great care is taken in recording the participants, describing the properties, at times the surroundings, and the witnesses and circumstances. As such, they can present evidence of cross-cultural contact, communication and interaction that is the subject of this study. The presence of people who bear some marking of ties to Arabophone culture is one type of evidence. Institutions and infrastructure borrowed or adapted from Arabophone culture more directly reflect acculturation. With both of these types of evidence there is an implied bilingualism, although it is difficult to know for certain from Latin charters what languages were used and in what ways. In some instances it is possible to theorize about the language skills of participants, particularly when a pattern of participation is discernible over several documents. For the majority of the participants, however, the most that can be theorized is a likelihood of familiarity with Arabic or Arabophone culture.

The Arabic language charters of Toledo and Huesca provide evidence in similar, although not identical, manners. These charters were notarial records recording property sales between individuals, primarily, rather than property transfers to or from an institution. These Arabic language records broaden the view of cross-cultural interaction, allowing a mapping of neighborhood spaces and relationships as well as tracing borrowed materials and institutions.

Finally, the (primarily) Latin charters of some Occitan monasteries and churches reflect significant cross-cultural involvement in Iberia generally, and sometimes with Arabophone populations and institutions directly. As these monasteries and churches received Iberian properties, engaged in Iberian crusade and evangelization, their charters document the movement of Occitan and Iberian people across the Pyrenees.

My approach to this research is grounded in anthropological theories of acculturation and cultural diffusion. The works of historians of medieval Spain, like Thomas Glick, Antonio Ribera, and Elena Lourie, on cultural borrowing found in Spanish technology and institutions

have shown that, barring unusual circumstances, cultural diffusion occurs whenever cultures are in prolonged contact. Although language differences and other barriers may inhibit cultural borrowing, we are by nature cultural scavengers, adopting and adapting what seems useful no matter the source. In Iberia the pathway for acculturation is marked by cross-cultural contact and reflected in borrowed institutions and infrastructure. As the political boundaries of the peninsula shifted between 1000 and 1200, the degree of interaction, of *convivencia,* increased.

On the other side of the Pyrenees, several types of cross border relationships occurred: family ties through marriages and alliances, institutional ties, through monastic and church affiliation, and travel ties through legates, bishop and abbot appointments, and pilgrimage. Pilgrimage routes to the Spanish shrine of Saint-James of Compostela blanketed southern France, bringing pilgrims to stops along the way at Sainte-Foy de Conques, Saint-Sernin de Toulouse, the Cathedral of Bayonne, and La-Sauve-Majeure. The archival and published charters of these towns and monasteries of Occitania demonstrate how these relationships created the means for acculturation, interaction and communication, between Occitania and Iberia, a pathway for cultural diffusion across the Pyrenees. An Iberian church given to an Occitan monastery required envoys to mediate disputes, to carry tithes between the church and the monastery, to solicit additional donations from the area, or to participate in important ceremonies on either side of the Pyrenees. Monks from an affiliated monastery might travel to their motherhouse in Bordeaux on their way to Rome or other destinations.

My research brings together two areas of medieval Europe, Southern France and Iberia. Iberia had direct interaction, intermarriage, and alliance with the multi-faceted Muslim world over the course of several centuries of cohabiting in the peninsula. Gradually, too, major Islamic *medinas* were incorporated into Christian kingdoms, with their Arabic-speaking populations largely staying put. Southern France, meanwhile, was an area where new cultural directions, such as troubadour poetry, and new social fractures, such as the Cathar heresy, were appearing. Historians have noted the numerous connections between Southern France and Iberia, leading to a historiography of French influence on Iberian culture, often called the ‘Europeanizing’ of

Iberia. Less attention has been paid to culture flowing the other direction, from Iberia to Occitania. Carefully reading documents of practice, the charters of churches and royal chanceries and Arabic notarial records, reveals the contact, interaction, and communication between Romance-speaking Iberians and their Arabic-speaking Christian, Muslim and Jewish neighbors. Similarly, Occitan charters reveal trans-Pyrenean contact, interaction and communication with the multicultural Iberian world. Through these records a path of cultural diffusion is discernible from the Islamic world to wider Europe. Islamic origins for some European cultural phenomena have been theorized, such as troubadour lyric, for example. Yet the influence of Arabic language culture on Europe is often hotly contested and greeted with great skepticism because of the perception that connections between Arabic speaking populations and wider Europe were extremely limited and inhibited by language and cultural distance. The charters of Iberia and Occitania, however, show that contact was frequent, widespread, and longstanding, providing a means for acculturation to occur.

Chapter One engages the construction and deconstruction of the Pyrenees as a boundary and other binary constructions of France and Iberia, Christian and Muslim. Looking at eleventh- and twelfth-century literary sources and modern scholarship, the ideas of frontiers, borderlands, and pathways are brought to bear on historical evidence reflecting the Pyrenees as an imagined barrier but a realized pathway.

Chapter Two explores the Iberian landscape before 1050, using the charters of Iberian monasteries and churches in Castile, Leon, and Navarre. Against the backdrop of an unstable political frontier, Latin charters are used to trace the interaction with and absorption of Arabophone people, institutions and infrastructure. Chapter Three proceeds similarly for the period 1050 to 1150, also drawing on Arabic notarial records from Toledo and Huesca. In the latter period significant political shifts bring a large amount of Andalusian territory under Castilian and Aragonese political control, leading to larger amounts of cross-cultural interaction and acculturation.

Chapter Four, drawing on Arabic language sources more heavily, as well as Latin monastic charters, presents the social and economic interactions of *convivencia* (the state of diverse groups living) in the *medina/urbs* of Iberia. The property sales and transfers of the twelfth century are mapped to reveal the degree of neighborhood integration, patterns of interaction, and how communities were formed across confessional, ethnic and linguistic divides. Using the example of the Hospitaller nuns of Sigena, near Huesca, the question of gender in cross-cultural interactions is brought to the fore.

Chapter five lays out the history of Southern French involvement in Iberia, through intermarriages, military alliances, and religious evangelization over the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As these interrelated trans-Pyrenean connections progressed over the period, Occitan peoples became more involved in Iberian affairs. Chapter Six looks in depth at the charters of the Cathedral of Bayonne, Sainte-Foy-de-Conques in the Rouerge, Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, and Sauve-Majeure in the Bordelais at the cross-cultural interactions recorded. The Iberian holdings of these institutions required oversight, involvement in Iberian politics, and brought, in some cases, a vested interest in the military campaigns against and conquest of Islamic territories. The Occitan charters reveal contact, interaction and communication with North Iberia intensifying in the late eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century.

Chapter Seven concludes the study with an assessment of these peoples in contact as cultural scavengers. These historical people, like we ourselves, absorbed cultural influence without acknowledgement, often without even recognizing that borrowing had occurred. This cultural scavenging is reflected in two pieces of art that traversed the Pyrenees, one literally -- in both instances, this exposure leads to absorption of aspects of Iberian culture in Occitania, as well as reactions against acculturation.

Overall, this work aims to lay a foundation. While Iberia was not the only area where Occitan people were exposed to Arabophone culture, it was the closest, among the oldest and the most long-standing of all the points of contact. The short-lived Muslim settlements on the Cote d'Azur in Eastern Occitania, the Norman kingdom of Sicily, and eventually the Crusader States

also likely exposed a large number of Occitan people to Arabophone culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Similar studies could be undertaken to document the degree of interaction with these multicultural sites. The objective of this work is to provide sufficient evidence to challenge earlier assertions that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Arabophone culture had no effects on Christian regions. Indeed, Arabophone culture was not too distant, nor too foreign, nor wholly incomprehensible. As such, it must have had a significant effect on the evolution of the culture of Southern France, as well as in the Christianized kingdoms of northern Iberia of the time.

CHAPTER ONE: REDEFINING THE FRONTIER:

Frontier Definitions

The concept of a borderland can illumine our understanding of Southern France in the Middle Ages. Even though religious and secular writings of the Middle Ages constructed clear binaries between Hispania and France, and between Christian and Muslim (and Jew and heretic), the realities of such border areas created a much more ambiguous environment. The subject of frontiers and borderlands has engendered a great deal of scholarly scrutiny of late. Recent work has called into question our modern conceptions of borders when applied to the period of the Middle Ages, delving into the etymology of the modern words for frontier in European pre-modern languages. The word *frontière* in French arose from military fortifications and evolved in the sixteenth century into its current meaning of a political or administrative boundary, with an expansionist connotation in the context of the nationalist policies of the period.[1] Similar to the French *frontière*, the Spanish *frontera* had military and religious implications as it was used in the *reconquista* ideology of the late Middle Ages. An alternate word used for a borderland was *march* in English or *marche* in French, connoting a much more ambiguous and broad swath of land than a modern-day border. March originally meant an entrance to a forest and perhaps evolved into a borderland because of the natural buffer provided by an unpopulated, wooded terrain. In English, there are additional complications with the words for border and frontier, particularly when American historiography is added to the mix. Frederick Jackson Turner's identification of the frontier as a *mentalité* defining the American character added another aspect of historical interest to frontier study, its cultural implications. As comforting as neat, clear lines on a map can be, the reality of political, cultural, and religious boundaries in the Middle Ages was more complex, unstable, and uncontrolled than our modern day territorial borders can indicate.

---

[1] For an in-depth discussion of the historiography of frontiers, see Daniel Powers' introduction to *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700,* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, 1-12.

Borrowing from the concept of the American frontier first outlined by Turner, historians of pre-modern Europe have begun to reinterpret border areas as zones of passage and contact rather than merely fortified lines in opposition.[2] As Daniel Powers describes it, the "idea of a frontier as a zone of passage and interaction rather than as a barrier can show a political border in a rather different light."[3] While there may be cultural, political and religious differences on either side, a frontier can be seen as an area where one culture blends into another, rather than abruptly transforms. Naomi Standen has shown how in Han China a cultural flexibility at the border benefitted the frontier inhabitants and, as long as a measure of frontier autonomy was maintained, how that flexibility at the border influenced the center, as language, ideas, and technology seeped into the wider culture,.[4] This conception of the frontier does not deny either the fundamental differences that may exist between cultures on each side, nor the potential rhetorical benefit to one or both of over-emphasizing those differences. Still, as Richard Bulliet identified for the Islamic world, societies can be gradually transformed from their edges, as frontier exchange and interaction makes itself felt by the center.[5] In Bulliet's study of the Islamic empire between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, he found that the conquest and eventual integration of institutions, ideas, and culture from territorial edges as disparate as Sassanid Persia, the Byzantine Middle East and North Africa, and Visigothic Hispania contributed to the development and flowering of Islamic society in the centuries following the initial Arab expansion. While Bulliet's theories concern a first-expanding, then-stabilizing frontier, the process of transformation from the edges that he outlines can provide one model of the effect of a frontier on its society.

---

[2] F. J. Turner, "The significance of the frontier in American history," in *The Frontier in American History,* New York, 1920, 1-38.

[3] Daniel Powers, "Introduction," *Frontiers in Question,* 12.

[4] Naomi Standen, "(Re)Constructing the frontiers of Tenth-Century North China," *Frontiers in Question,* 55-77.

[5] Richard Bulliet, *Islam: the View from the Edge,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Certain areas of Iberia have long been recognized as a frontier, described by Eduardo Manzano Moreno as an expanding frontier under the "*reconquista*' rubric of the northern Christian controlled territory. Conversely, he describes the southern Islamic territories, from the 10th century onward, as conceptualizing their northern border as an enclosing frontier, a defensive middle ground.[6] In particular, Aragon lay between two worlds in the eleventh century and, according to *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, the word frontier was first used in this context.[7] While the term *convivencia* may understate the degree of hostility, aggression, and oppression that occurred in the Spanish frontier regions, the idea of Hispania as encompassing a borderland is at least as old as Charlemagne's conception of the Spanish March.[8]

While Iberia has engendered a great deal of interest from medievalists in recent decades, its historiography remains largely isolated from other parts of Europe until the later Middle Ages.[9] There are acknowledged intersections and contributions from Iberia to the wider European narrative, such as the occasion of an extant translation from Arabic of writings on Greek texts, or the beginnings of the Dominican order by a Catalan canon, as two examples. Yet, in the grand sweep of the European master narrative, Iberia remains on the periphery, figuratively and literally. But, if the Pyrenees were a border between wider Europe and a polyglot Iberia, was not southern France a borderland as well? And, how might it change our view of the history of Southern France and indeed Europe, if we looked at the Pyrenees as a "zone of passage and interaction rather than as a barrier?" Even when a political boundary was

---

6 Moreno, "Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula," *Frontiers in Question,* 38-39.

7 Philippe Sénac, "L'Islam et La Chrétienté dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Age : la naissance d'une frontière, » in *Studia Islamica,* No. 89, 1999, 91-108.

8 Moreno, "Islam and Christianity," 32-54. For more on the debate, see also, "The Nessus-shirt of Spanish History,"*Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, xxxvi (1959), 219-25,* Maria Menocal*, Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Iberia,* Boston*:* Little , Brown, and Co., 2002, and Kenneth Baxter Wolf*,* "Convivencia in Medieval Iberia: A Brief History," *Religion Compass,* 3/1, 2009, 72-85.

9See for example Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe:conquest, colonization, and cultural change, 950-1350,*London: Penguin Press, 1993, which ascribes much more agency for the formation of European-ness to conquest and colonization in places other than Iberia. While there are exceptions to this, they generally come from the Hispanist or Arabist field, such as Cynthia Robinson's or Maria Menocal's work, who are from the fields of art history and literature, respectively.

narrowly defined by a treaty, the exigencies of control and exploitation created a much more ambiguous division between one political territory and another. Rather than a place to seal off one's territory from outsiders, a medieval political boundary was often a locus from which to "achieve hegemony and clientage" from neighboring territories, an expansive opportunity of sorts. According to Daniel Power, the more important the border the more diffuse it tended to be.[10] The March of Hispania is an excellent example of this. Created by Charlemagne in the eighth century as a buffer zone, it provided his successor, Louis the Pious, with opportunities for raids and encroachment on Muslim territory.[11] The machinations of territorial expansion in southern Europe in the Middle Ages provide other examples. The March in Perigord was used by the Duke of Aquitaine for pushing the edges of his territory as well as defending it.[12] Saintonge was a territory on the border between two powerful families, the Dukes of Aquitaine and the Counts of Anjou. The control of Saintonge moved between the two families in the eleventh century along with the Aquitaine widow, Agnes of Burgundy, when she married Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou after her first husband, Duke William the Great died in 1142.

While all places and times are in many ways unique, there are certain common threads shared by frontiers that make it a useful category for historical analysis. These include clashes of identity, weak political control and ineffectiveness, and militarized institutions. Because borders are places where at least two distinct identities coexist within close proximity, cultural identity is not something that can be taken for granted near them. Because of the inherent risks present at a frontier, especially one that has low-level military conflict, central authority is often weak and ineffective, as control is ceded to those willing to represent the interests of the central authority at that border. The seat of power is usually away from the zone of conflict and therefore requires

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[10] Power and Standen, *Frontiers in Question*, 5.

[11] Barbara Edmond, "Les Portraits des Sarrasins dans 'La Chanson de Roland' », *The French Review*, Vol. 44, No. 5, April 1971, 870-880 and Henri Pirenne, *Mohamad and Charlemagne*, London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965, 158.

[12] Jane Martindale, *Status, Authority, and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th centuries*, Aldershot, UK: Variorum 1997.

proxies to occupy the border territory. These proxies often have a political leverage that residents of more centrally located areas do not have. And, because of the perceived threat from the other side of the border, borderlands become more militarized and with a more integrated military presence than more central areas of a territory. The differences between the ideals of cultural, religious and political hegemony and the realities of effective control and exploitation on such borders, lead to situations where borderland residents often have more leverage than residents of the center, where creative misunderstandings can enable cultural borrowing, interaction for mutual benefit, where militarized institutions become part of the frontier identity. These can be found in areas as disparate as Han China, the March of Wales, and the Rhineland frontiers of Europe during the Middle Ages.[13]

Openings for creative misunderstandings or outright flouting of laws or cultural norms occur in border regions because of proximity and autonomy. Since there is a perceived risk at the border, and a need for proxies to establish a presence in border regions (think of Israeli settlers on the West Bank), frontiersmen and women can bargain for a degree of autonomy and political power from central authorities.[14] While the mainstream culture may construct inhabitants on the other side of a border as completely antithetical to the mainstream culture, the leverage enjoyed by the frontier inhabitants creates a space from which they can interact with the 'other' when it is to their benefit without reprisal.

All of the frontier characteristics listed above can be found in Southern France, as well as in Iberia, in the central Middle Ages. A clash of identities is the central focus of the eleventh-century *Chanson de Roland*, where France and Iberia are placed in high relief as opposing binaries. In addition, the continuing issues with heresy in southern France, from the mid-eleventh century to the early thirteenth-century Albigensian crusades, can be seen as a clash of identities, wherein church orthodoxy confronted a more flexible concept of religious belief. It is

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13 Standen, "The Frontiers of Tenth-Century North China," *Frontiers in Question,* 63-64.

14 Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: women in Castilian town society, 1100-1300,* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

for these reasons that the church dispatched preachers like Bernard of Clairvaux and encouraged the pen of Peter the Venerable of Cluny to battle the threat. In the Middle Ages, in addition to there being political and cultural boundaries, ideological boundaries would be formed around religious faith.

While these religious boundaries were sometimes constructed as being perfectly aligned with political boundaries, religious homogeneity was less prevalent than imagined, especially at such edges. Islamic political theory referred to a frontier as a mouth or a breach (*thugr*). Their image of the border as a mouth is apt, an opening. Islamic diplomatic theory also imagined something in between *dar al-islam,* the world of believers, and *dar al-harb,* the world of enemies of the faith, that is, *dar-al-'ahd,* a religious no-man's land where believers and non-believers coexisted through truces, particularly if the nonbelievers were fellow monotheists.[15] In Christian ideology, the idea of the territory of Christendom was present in religious discourse, as well, extending Christendom's theoretical limits, at times into lands that had been in Muslim control for the last 400 years, as well as defining internal religious boundaries within Western Europe. An interest in this frontier of Christendom, creating stark ideological boundaries between Christians on one side, and Jews, Muslims, and heretics, on the other, drew increased intellectual activity beginning in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, with a virulent urgency developing in the mid-twelfth century, particularly from religious orders in Occitania, such as Cluny and the Cistercians, and later, the Dominicans.

In the 1140's, Peter the Venerable undertook an enormous project to refute the ideas of heretics like Peter of Bruys, the tenets of Judaism, and the beliefs of Islam, all through the use of

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15 Robert I. Burns, and Paul E. Chevedden, with Mikel de Epalza, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Iberia under James the Conqueror,* Leiden: Brill, 1999, Epalza, in the last section of the book, explains how the concept of *dar al-'ahd* was reflected in treaties signed between Muslim and Christian rulers in the thirteenth century, thanks to some remarkably preserved texts in Latin and Arabic. See also on this subject, Moreno, " Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula," in *Frontiers in Question,* and Yasin Istanbuli, *Diplomacy and Diplomatic Practice in the Early Islamic Era*, Oxford and New York, 2001.

disputatio using the accepted religious texts of each.[16] In Peter the Venerable's works, *Contra Petrobrusianos, Adversus Judeos* and *Contra Sectam Sarracenorum,* he purports to describe accurately the beliefs and holy works of the heretics, Jews and Muslims. His descriptions, however, are full of misleading and malicious characterizations that would hardly convince a knowledgeable believer of any of these groups. They might, on the other hand, sway a Christian to steer clear of anything purported to be a part of these evil and inferior faiths.[17] Bernard of Clairvaux' writings on heresy and crusading against Islam, in his sermons 61-66 on the *Canticle of Canticles* and his promotion of crusade and the military orders, dealt with heresy, Judaism and Islam but in a more pejorative manner, as in "What are you going to do then, O brave men? What are you doing, O servants of the Cross? Will you give what is holy to the dogs, and cast your pearls before swine?" referring to the Muslim threat to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1146.[18] Christian theologians at the time did not discuss any idea of a middle ground, of a *dar al-'ahd,* as such*,* perhaps because they had very limited experience with the ambiguities of conquest and the need to administer lands peopled with other faiths. On both sides of the religious divide, Muslim and Christian, these debates over religious difference were used to legitimate the claims of authority, and to maintain control of orthodoxy, rather than to seriously understand or influenc the faithful on the other side of the religious border.

Southern France's religious heterogeneity, from the twelfth-century Petrobrusians, and Henricians, to the dualist heresies of the Cathars, might be better understood in terms of a religious borderland. While the dualism of the Cathars has been ascribed to the preaching of Bogomils from Eastern Europe, the receptivity to these ideas in Southern France might be better explained from interactions closer to home, in the multi-religious culture of Iberia right there at

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[16] Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et Exclure,* argues that these works, while claiming to reason against the other faiths, in reality used false assertions about the beliefs of those he was purportedly trying to convince, in all three treatises.

[17] Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et Exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaisme, et à l'islam (1000-1150),* Paris : Aubier, 1998.

[18] Bernard of Clairvaux, sermons 63-66, *Sermons on the Song of Songs,*trans. by C.S.M.V, London: A.R.Mowbray, 1952, in which 'pagans' are the enemy which no doubt represents the Muslims.

its doorstep.[19] One can see some of the critiques of Church doctrine promoted by these groups as being similar to Islamic critiques of Christianity in Iberia and elsewhere. Some of the ideas that might be considered as influence from over the Pyrenees woudl include criticism of the role of priestly mediation, of the idolatrous perception of symbols like the cross, the validity of scriptures, and unmediated interaction with God. The competing monotheisms in the Iberian Peninsula, Judaism and Islam, regularly raised similar critiques of Christian dogma.[20]

The area of Occitania also suffered throughout the High Middle Ages from disparate and often weak central authority. As measured by the area under their control, the Dukes of Aquitaine were relatively powerful leaders in the eleventh century, yet, even within their home base of the Poitevin, the power of the strongest of them, William the Great, (993-1030), was regularly challenged. The Peace councils convened by William, with the support of the church and the peasantry, were a means to assert his authority over lesser lords, with the support of the church and possibly the peasantry, when more direct confrontation of armed castellans was risky.[21] Despite the marriage of William IX to the countess Phillipa of Toulouse, despite successive dukes' attempts to bring the regions of Toulouse and Gascony more firmly under their control, their authority remained contested in this key borderlands region.

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19 Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais,* Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005.

20 Martin Accad, "The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: an exegetical inventorial table," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations,* Vol. 14, No. 1, 2003, 67-81. Bernard of Clairvaux' comment, As Bernard of Clairvaux lamented, "I do not enlarge on the lamentable fact that where there are no Jews then there Christian men *judaize* even worse than they do in extorting usury, -- if, indeed, we may call them Christians and not rather baptized Jews." might reflect a fear of adoption of perceived Jewishness by Christians, real or imagined. His point of criticism would be echoed in growing anti-semiticism in the later Middle Ages. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux,* trans. by Bruno Scott James, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1998. Although Bernard is arguing against slaughtering Jews, as had happened on previous crusades, he is clearly disparaging Christians when they become like Jews in their behavior.

21 Jane Martindale, "Peace and War in Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine", in *Status, Authority, and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th Centuries,* (Aldershot, GB: Variorum, 1997), particularly pp. 162-165. Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God : Social Violence and Religious Response around the Year 1000,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992, 327-343.

Finally, Southern France was one of the earliest places the Peace of God movement gained a footing, in part as a response to the militarization of the area as represented by castle construction and knightly aggression.[22] In the twelfth century, the military orders expanded gradually across Southern France and then beyond the Pyrenees. Such popular twelfth century religious movements, the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, but also the Cistercians, embodied an alternate response to the area's internal militarization, directing the aggression toward demonized targets, Muslims, Jews, and heretics.

Cultural differences, such as language, dress, and customs, can create frontiers and borderlands that are in some ways more ambiguous than political and religious divides. While the Pyrenees were ideologically constructed as a barrier between Europe and the Sarracen other, the passes of that mountain range were at the same time pathways for pilgrims and abbots, soldiers and fortune-seekers, spouses and relatives. Even while the Pyrenees loomed in the medieval imagination as a barrier between a Christian France and an idolatrous Saracen-controlled Hispania, people, material and cultural objects--gold, poetry, slaves, silks, books, astrolabes and abacuses--travelled frequently across the mountain paths.

The Pyrenees imagined as a barrier

In the literature from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the borders between Iberia and France, between Christian and Muslim, between Europe and the Islamic world, were often constructed as impenetrable. The story of Roland and the battle of Roncesvalles provides a good example of how the Pyrenees were imagined in medieval popular epic. This heroic *chanson de geste*, written down between the second half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century, was popular throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It recast a minor, ignoble event in the life of Charlemagne as an epic battle between Christians and Saracens. The version that comes down to us as *The Song of Roland* was based on a tradition that evolved over

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[22] See, for example, Derek Baker, "Popular Piety in the Lodèvois in the Twelfth Century: The Case of Pons de Leras," *Studies in Church History 15* (1978: 39-47). Jane Martindale, who else?

the centuries. It cast the character of Roland in a brave, tragic, and noble battle against the idolatrous Saracens. In the opening scene, a debate takes place between the Saracen leader, Marsillon, and his followers about how to prod Charlemagne's undefeatable host into leaving *Hispania* and returning to *France*:

> They'll hurry home to France, their native land, when each within his favorite haunt is back, Charles in his chapel at Aix will take his stand…….Better their heads (of the hostages used to convince the French to leave) should fall into their laps than that fair Iberia should fall from out our hands, and we should suffer grave losses and mishap.[23]

This literary construction implies several things about the border. First, the border marks a clear separation between France and Hispania. Second, there is a direct correlation between the political boundary between France and Hispania, and the religious division between Christian and Sarracen. Finally, the border is a controlled and protective demarcation: the removal of the dangerous Charlemagne to France thus creates safety for the idolatrous Saracen king on the other side of that border. Hence, the religious and political realms in Roland's world seem to be perfectly aligned on either side of the Pyrenees.[24] As the story unfolds, the heroes are consistently referred to as French: "Full fifteen thousand of France the fair and dear."[25] Hispania, on the other hand, is repeatedly associated with the Saracens: "There sat the King that

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[23] *The Song of Roland,* trans. By Dorothy Sayers, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Classics, 1964 (1957), 53. In the original the italicized words are *France* and *Espaigne:* "Francs s'en irunt en France la lur tere. Quant cascus ert a sun meillor repaire, Carles serat ad Ais, a sa capele.....De noz ostages ferat tre[n]cher les testes; asez est mielz, qu'il i perdent les testes, qu nus perduns clere Espaigne, la bele, ne nus aiuns les mals ne les surffraites." From *Les textes de la Chanson de Roland, t.1, La version d'Oxford,* Éd. Raoul Mortier, Paris: Editions de la geste francor,1940, accessed at http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/gallica/Chronologie/11siecle/Roland/rol_ch00.html

[24] While there has been some scholarly interest in the Saracens in the *Song of Roland*, most of it has focused on whether the depictions were accurate or based, even loosely, on real figures. Thus, particular attention has been paid to who might be represented as leaders of the Saracens, the identity of the gods, and the accuracy (or inaccuracy as is more the case) of the descriptions of Islam. Little attention has been paid to the assumed dichotomy between France and Iberia and the association of Iberia and Islam. See "La portrait des Sarrasins dans *La Chanson de Roland"* by Barbara P. Edmonds in *The French Review,* Vol. XLIV, No. 5, April 1971, 870-880, and James A. Bellamy, "Arabic Names in the *Chanson de Roland:* Saracen Gods, Frankish Swords, Roland's Horse, and the Olifant" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. 107, No.2, (Apr-Jun 1987), 267-277.

[25] *Song of Roland,* 55.

bore the rule in Hispania. Full twenty thousand Saracens stood arrayed."[26] The religious and cultural differences are clear and unambiguous. The Saracens are represented as idolatrous, treacherous, cowardly and faithless. The French are noble, fair, brave, and Christian.[27] The Pyrenees, where Roland meets his doom, emblemize the separation between the two, as in the phrase, "I have beheld the Saracens of Hispania; they cover all the mountains and the vales."[28]

The Pilgrim's Guide to Saint James of Compostella, Book 5 of the *Codex Calixtinus,* also constructs the Pyrenees as a barrier. In this literary work, part of a larger work on Saint James written in the twelfth century by a Poitevin monk, Aymeri Picaud, the story of Roland and Charlemagne is recalled at the crossing into Iberia at Roncesvalles. Just past the specific boundary in the mountains between Iberia and France, lay a spot marked by crosses where "Charlemagne stopped, after clearing a path, knelt, and prayed in the direction of Galicia and Saint-Jacques."[29] It goes on to describe the nearby hospice and church at Val-Carlos "where Roland split a rock in two with three blows of his sword."[30] While, unlike in *The Song of Roland,* in *The Guide* Iberia is not wholly 'othered,' it does ridicule certain peoples for their eating habits and sexual mores:

> A barbarous people, different from everyone by their dress and by their nature,
> full of malice, dark in complexion, horrible to look at, depraved, perverse,

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[26] Ibid., 67.

[27] *Song of Roland,* for references to Saracen idolatry, see opening stanza, "Save Zaragoza in its high mountain place; Marsilion (Saracen king) holds it, the king who hates God's name, Mahound he serves, and to Apollyon prays," and stanza 253, " Now the emir evokes his deities, Mahound, Apollyon, and Temagant"for their lack of faith, see, stanza 264, "Seeing the Arabs thus beaten all about, in a shrill voice she cries: to help, Mahound! Our men are all put to rout!, Oh, shameful hour!" for their treachery, see stanzas 2-6, where the Saracens devise their plan to dupe Charlemagne into leaving with their sons as hostages, willing to sacrifice their children to save their own hides, and Charlemagne responds "But his true purpose-for that I cannot answer" (stanza 13), recognizing the Saracens are not to be trusted.

[28] Ibid. 94.

[29] *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, *a Critical Edition*, vol. II, trans. Paula Gerson, Annie Shaver-Crandell, and Alison Stones, London: Knightsbridge House, 1998, 27.

[30] *The Pilgrim's Guide, 28*-29.

> perfidious, disloyal and corrupt, libidinous, drunken…comparable to the Geats and the Saracens, through malice completely hostile to our people of France.[31]

In certain areas of their country, in Biscay and Alava, when the Navarrese are inflamed, the man shows the woman and the woman shows the man their naughty parts. The Navarrese also practice disgraceful fornication with animals.[32]

These are common tropes of frontier bigotry used to exaggerate the differences in culture on the other side of a border. In *The Guide* the cultural divide falls between the French and others. Some cultures are praised as "more than other uncultivated Spanish peoples are those who most closely resemble our French race by their manners, but they are irascible and very litigous."[33] However, unlike in *The Song of Roland*, this construction of difference in *The Guide* only tangentially includes the Muslims, as when it describes unfavorably some Navarrese being like Saracens in the quote above. Hispania, while seen as another world, is not equivalent to Saracen territory.

Similar constructions of difference are found in the *Chronicle de San Juan de Pena*, a fourteenth century chronicle of the history of Spanish Christendom, compiled by various scholars under the direction of King Pedro IV of Aragon at the height of Aragonnese power and influence.[34] Here, two centuries late, the divide is not between France and Hispania, but between Christian and Muslim Iberia. It is, nonetheless, as clearly and unambiguously imagined as the France/Hispania boundary in *The Song of Roland*. In it, the early kings of Navarre and

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31 Ibid., 29, "Hec est gens barbara, omnibus gentivus dissimilis ritibus et essentia, omni malicia plena, colore atra, uisu iniqua, praua peruersa, perfida, fide vacua et corrupta, libidinosa, ebriosa, omni violentia docta, ferox et silvestris, improbab et reproba, impia et austera, dira et contentiosa, ullis bonis inculta, cunctis viciis et iniquitatibus edocta, Getis (Geti in Manuscript C Santiago de Compostela, a reference to a group described by Ovid or a Germanic tribe) et Saracenis consimilis malicia, nostre Genti Gallice in omnibus inimica."

32 Ibid., 29, "In quibusdam oris eorumdem, in Biscagia scilicet et Alaca, dum Navarri se calefaciunt, vir mulieri et mulier viro verenda sua ostendunt. » and « Navarri etiam utuntur fornications incesta pecudibus."

33 *The Pilgrim's Guide,* 30-33.

34 *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña, a Fourteenth-Century Offical History of the Crown of Aragon,* trans., Lynn H. Nelson, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991, introduction. Although collected in the fourteenth century, much of the material was taken from earlier monastic records, the thirteenth century De rebus Hispania by Rodrigo Jiminez de Rada, and popular folklore and legend.

Castile are described as having a great desire to fight the Saracens.[35] The chronicle tells about the dramatic birth of King Sancho Garcés of Navarre, being plucked from the womb of his dying mother, a Christian queen who was slaughtered by Muslims. The child was miraculously saved by a noble. He eventually ascended to the throne as King Sancho Abarca, that is, Sancho Garcia I of Navarre.

The description of King Sancho Garcia and his men is defined almost entirely by their Christianity and by their desire to fight the Saracens.[36] Thus the compilers tell us that,

> [from the beginning of his reign he]began to fight the Saracens vigorously. He had many battles with them, in all of which he emerged victorious. [He had] loyal vassals and sturdy warriors, all eager to battle against the Saracens, [and, he always thought about] how to gain victory over the enemies of the **faith**."

Later in the chronicle, describing the first king of Aragon, Ramiro I, the chronicler hyperbolizes, "[He] was very brave and waged constant war against the Moors, against whom he always obtained victory." Finally, while a mid-eleventh-century alliance between Aragon and Navarre was actually driven by inter-faith coalitions and distrust of competing Christian rulers, the chronicle simply ascribes it to "fear of the Moors."[37]

In these three representative works these images of Iberia and the Muslims became enmeshed in the Occitan and Iberian imagination. The borders between France and Iberia, between Christian and Muslim were sharply delineated oppositions in politics, religion and culture. Some modern historiography stops here, accepting the frontier bigotry of such works as a true reflection of the real distance in the Central Middle Ages between French and Iberian,

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[35] Ibid., 5-21, from King Jimeno Garcés (925-931) to King Sancho Garcés III (1000-1035) most of the Navarrese kings are described in this way.

[36] *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, p. 11-12.

[37] Ibid., 17, 111, n63, Lynn H. Nelson describes the cause of the alliance as the defeat of the Navarrese at the hands of the Castilian and Leonese forces at Atapuerca in 1054. The gift of lands and pact were to protect against Castile and Leon making incursions into Navarre. At the same time, Navarre had pacts with several taifa kingdoms.

Christian and Muslim.[38] But there is evidence, often in the very same narratives, that contradicts this black and white picture, showing the Pyrenees not only as a barrier but also as a pathway for people, things, and ideas.

The Pyrenees realized as a pathway

Despite the construction cited above, the *Song of Roland* has signs of cultural mingling and awareness of cross-border realities, despite its construction of Iberia as Muslim. It describes Charlemagne's battles in Iberia as resulting in the French carrying away the great wealth of the Muslim kings. This describes an eleventh century reality that the *taifa* kingdoms had been paying tribute to the Christian rulers in northern Iberia. This influx of gold into Navarre, Castille and Catalonia, would then arrive in France, for instance in an annual tribute paid to Cluny by the Castillian monarchy.[39] As Charlemagne's men await the next battle, his chevaliers, like their Muslim foes, relax on carpets playing chess. This echoes Muslim court behaviors adopted by Spanish courts in the north and perhaps even some s[40]outhern French courts.[41] Toward the end of the *Song of Roland,* as a result of the French victories the Saragossan queen, Bramimonda, becomes the charge of Charlemagne and converts to Christianity.[42] In this, she is acting very like real brides in cross-cultural marraiges between Muslim and Christian royalty. She is the

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[38] See examples given in Roger Boase, "Arab Influence on Troubadour Love Poetry," and Marco Zaccaro, "Gerbert of Aurillac and a Tenth-Century Jewish Channel for the Transmission of Arabic Science," *Speculum* 2005, 742-763, discussed below.

[39] C.J. Bishko, " The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: their acquisition and administration," in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300,* London: Variorum Reprints, 1984, Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, Stephen P Bensch, *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096-1291,*Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

40 Sayers, *The Song of Roland,* stanza 8, p. 55, "Upon white carpets they sit, those noble peers, For draughts and chess the chequer-boards are reared." White carpets are mentioned again in stanza 19, p.61. In Mortier's transcription of the Oxford Manuscript, "sur palies blancs siedent cil cevaler, as tables juent pur els esbaneier e as eschecs li plus saive e li ceill."

[41] *Song of Roland,* Marilyn Yalom, *The Birth of the Chess Queen,* New York: Harpers Colins 2004, and George T Beech, *The brief eminence and doomed fall of Islamic Zaragoza: A great center of Jewish and Arabic learning in the Iberian Peninsula during the 11th century," 53-56.*

42 Sayers, *Song of Roland,* stanzas 264-266, pp.189-191. Her translation is based on the "Oxford Manuscipt," Bodleian Library, Digby 23, also used by Mortier.

reverse of several princesses from Navarre who married *emirs* from Cordoba but like the marriage of the widowed Muslim princess Zaida of Cordoba who married Alphonso VI and converted to Christianity. Since this last marriage was nearly contemporaneous with the setting down of the version preserved in the Oxford manuscript of the S*ong of Roland*, it may have been the inspiration for the story of Brammimonde.[43] Even an examination of the historical events on which the *Song* is loosely based begins to deconstruct the religious border erected by the *Song of Roland;* Charlemagne's offensive into Iberia in 778 was actually spurred by the invitation of certain Muslim political leaders opposed to Abd-al-Rahman, rather than by a desire to fight enemies of the faith. Similarly, the cause of Charlemagne's defeat was in reality opportunist Basques, like those described by the Pilgrims' guide, rather than the oppositional Saracens of the *Song of Roland*.[44]

Other evidence of cultural borrowings in the *Song of Roland* is perhaps found in the sword names given to different characters' weapons, and, perhaps, even the revival of a European tradition of sword-naming. James Bellamy's analysis of names of non-Latin origin in the *Chanson de Roland*, finds likely Arabic sources for several weapon names as well as the names of gods and Roland's horn. According to Bellamy, the archbishop's weapon, named *Almace,* "He's drawn Almace, whose steel was brown and rough, Through the great press a thousand blows he's struck," was probably derived from the Arabic, *Al-Madi*, a common sword name in Arabic epic literature. An alternate explanation might be that it derived from the Arabic *al-maza,* meaning . Another sword, belonging to the Christian traitor, Ganelon, is named *Margalies,* or *Maraqa,* a word used for spears in Arabic. Finally, the sword of Roland, *Durendal,* was possibly derived from the Arabic *du-l-jandal,* or 'stone breaker.' Since Roland's

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43George Beech, *The brief eminence and doomed fall of Islamic Zaragoza a great center of Jewish and Arabic learning in the Iberian Peninsula during the 11th century*, Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2008 53-56. This analysis is based on the Évariste Levi-Provençal. "La 'Mora Zaida' femme d'Alfonse VI de Castile et leur fils l'Infant D.Sancho,"Hesperis, 18:1–8,200-1 (1934).

44Pirenne, *Mohammad et Charlemagne*, and Barbara Edmonds, « Le Portrait des Sarrasins dans 'La Chanson de Roland,' 870-880. Edmonds points out the geographic inaccuracies as well as the historical inconsistencies of the work, using Pirenne's analysis of the chronicle and other evidence.

sword actually breaks stone in the story, a story repeated in *The Guide,* it is likely that whoever brought the sword name into the Latinate legend, also understood and knew Arabic legends, in which swords also broke stones. Further, also according to Bellamy, in addition to Arabic names for swords, Roland's horse, Veillantif, and horn, Oliphant, are also of Arabic origin.[45] Bellamy argues that the transfer of these names into Latin-based language occurred through written sources rather than oral, since the transformation only makes sense with the ambiguities of the written forms of Arabic letters.[46] The transfer, however, could have been a multi-step process, from written Arabic, to oral Romance, and finally to written Romance. So the *Song of Roland*, despite its construction of the Pyrenees as a barrier, provides evidence of the mountains as a pathway for Muslim written culture to find its way into French written culture.

Similarly, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Saint James of Compostella* shows the Pyrenees as a pathway. The guide's very existence reflects the Pyrenees as a pathway by which a pilgrim found his way along the *Camino de Santiago*. While the Latin language text was probably never used as an actual guidebook, it reflects the popularity and frequency of French travel across the Pyrenees. Its content was clearly aimed at informing and entertaining pilgrims, who may have listened to monastic readers translating *The Guide's* contents. Moreover, the genre of pilgrim's guide was a larger one with a long history, dating back to early Christianity at least.[47] The medieval Compostella guide may have found inspiration as well in Arabic language pilgrimage guides popular with Jewish and Muslim travelers to Mecca, Damascus, Jerusalem and

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[45] James Bellamy, "Arabic Names in the Chanson de Roland: Saracen Gods, Frankish Swords, Roland's Horse and the Olifant," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. 107, no. 2, Apr-Jun, 1987, 167-177. Bellamy uses a methodology of intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities to trace back to reasonable Iberian Arabic origins. As a negative test to his methodology, he also uses the same method on other unidentifiable proper names of Arabs in the epic with no success, concluding that these are invented names chosen to evoke foreign-ness without any real rooting in Arabic or Arab names.

46 Bellamy explains that the letters forms are separated only by a diacritical mark and placement of dots. While this explanation is not ironclad, it can explain some of the morphology from d to z, for example.

47 See, for example, Maribel Dietz, *Wandering monks, virgins, and pilgrims : ascetic travel in the Mediterranean world, A.D. 300-800,* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.

Mesopotamia, which are similar in content and form.[48] While the exact genealogy of the tradition of the pilgrim's guide is unknown, its revived practice in Western Europe was contemporaneous with increased contact with Muslim areas. The practice of pilgrimage and guides in both medieval cultures flourished at the same time.

Additionally, despite *The Guide's* demarcation of the border between France and Iberia with crosses at Roncesvalles (allegedly marking the spot where Charlemagne stopped and prayed toward Compostela) and its antagonistic descriptions of the various peoples encountered on the way, its greatest opprobrium is reserved for the bandits and toll collectors along the way. Those villains who permit and benefit, kings and nobles alike, from these injustices are pronounced excommunicated in Compostella according to *The Guide*. There is also as much disdain for some areas of France, such as the plains of Bordeaux (which lacked the basic necessities for travelers, bread and wine), as there is for areas of Iberia with strange customs, such as Navarre. Finally, although the guide is written by a monk with a quasi-religious purpose, there is very little about Christian versus Muslim antagonism or confrontation contained in it.

Other evidence of the flow of Arab literary culture into France can be found in eleventh- and twelfth-century courtly love poetry and troubadour lyrics. People have debated the inspiration for this Provençal phenomenon for over a hundred years. Many scholars, however, from August Renan and Reinhardt Dozy of the nineteenth century to Samuel Stern of the mid-twentieth century, agree that Arab influence was impossible because of geographic distance, political enmity, cultural dissimilarity and insurmountable language barriers.[49] As early as the

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[48] Josef Meri has examined these types of Arabic language guides or *ziyarat,* and their general format and information is similar to the Latin Compostella guide. Josef Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Meri uses Arabic language guides for pilgrims in Syria to explore the tradition of saint veneration in Syria or Al-sham in primarily Islamic and Jewish practice, although Christians in these areas also used the guides. The guides combined travel information with historical information about a site, sometimes encompassing multiple religious traditions, and practical information. Also by Meri, *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage or 'Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Harawi's Kitab al-Isharat ila Ma'rifat al-Ziyarat,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002**,** an English translation of one such guide.

[49] Roger Boase, "Árab Influences on European Love Poetry," *Legacy of Muslim Iberia,* ed. by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Leiden: Brill, 1992, 460-462.

nineteenth century the arguments against Arab influence were laid out, almost verbatim as they are recited today. August Renan, the anti-semitic orientalist par-excellence, explained that "neither Provençal poetry, nor chivalry, owe anything to the Muslims. There is no evidence that Christian poets knew of the existence of Arabic poetry, and...even had they known about it, they would not have been able to understand its language and its spirit." Similarly, Reinhardt Dozy said that "the possibility (of a direct influence of Arabic poetry) has not been established and it will not be established." Despite numerous scholars' work in the intervening years demonstrating the similarities between the genres on either side of the Pyrenees, Samuel Stern, a respected medieval scholar could quote Dozy with approval in 1964, concluding "That the troubadours could not have been in direct contact with Arabic poetry is a direct consequence of the indisputable fact that they did not know, and could not have known, enough [Arabic] to understand it," an almost identical objection to those almost one hundred years earlier.

Despite the scholarly weight lined up against the Arabist argument, Boase demonstrates the peculiar similarities that span the Pyrenees. Despite assertions to the contrary, he has argued not only that the structure and topics of troubadour poetry bear strong resemblance to Andalusi Arabic literature's love poetry and its philosophic discussions of love. Indeed, there are well-documented, clear paths for Arabic ideas of love and poetry to have travelled north of the Pyrenees to Provençal court troubadours.[50] While conceding "that the European love-lyric is a garden in which the roots can seldom be disentangled," Boase argues that objections to Arab influence can be refuted with the comparative study of European and Arabic love-poetry, on which he himself takes some important steps.[51] Although several scholars have taken up his suggested task, it has not put an end to the debate of cultural influence. Most importantly for purposes here, Boase lays out the numerous connections between Arabic literary culture and the

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[50] Boase, "Arab Influence,"458.

[51] Ibid., 461.

Occitan courts where troubadour poetry first flowered.[52]

While diplomatic, trade and marriage connections between Christian Europe and Muslim courts had existed off and on from the ninth century onward, several eleventh- and early twelfth-century military victories created additional channels of transmission for Islamic literary traditions to Christian Iberia and France, and Europe more generally. Many French nobility and knights were involved in the sack of Barbastro in 1064; in the capture of Toledo by Alphonse VI in 1085; in the Norman conquest of Sicily in 1091; in the First Crusade in 1096-99; and in the conquest of Zaragoza by Alfonso I of Aragon in 1118. During the same period, political changes led to closer contact between Southern France and southern Iberian culture: the defeat of al-Mu'tamid of Seville (1091) by Berbers, ending the *muluk al tawa'if* (Party Kings), led to the beginning of the Almoravid era. Similarly, the unification of Provence and Catalonia under Ramon Berenguer IV in 1112 increased Occitan involvement in the Iberian Peninsula.

From the end of the ninth century, the kingdom of Navarre had an ongoing relationship with the caliphate at Cordoba, which involved diplomatic exchanges, transfers of long-term hostages, and intermarriages, leading to extensive family ties between the courts of Navarre and Cordoba. Toda was the daughter of Onneca or Iniga, a Navarrese princess married to the Cordovan *emir* 'Abd Allah when her father, Fortun Garcés was a hostage in Cordoba, who later married a Castillian.[53] Thus, 'Abd al-Rahman II(822-52) owned a Navarrese singing girl, and had her trained in Medina. 'Abd Allah (888-912) married Onneca (Iniga), a Navarrese princess. She was the daughter of Fortun Garces of Pamplona (905-925), who had spent twenty years as a hostage at Cordoba. Onneca's son, Muhammed, married a Christian named Maria and fathered 'Abd al-Rahman III (929-961). In the Chronicle of San Juan de la Pena, Sancho Garcés's wife, Queen Toda, is mentioned along with their children and marriages, but no mention is made of

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52 These connections are also discussed in later chapters, but several important events relate to the story of troubadour poetry.

53 *San Juan de la Peña*, 12. The long history of connections between Leon and Cordoba will be discussed in Chapter 2. See Boase, "Arab Influence", 463 Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Iberia: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000,* London: 1983, and Marilyn Yalom, *The Birth of the Chess Queen,* New York: Harpers Colins 2004.

Toda's relationships with the Saracen *emirs* of Cordoba. Queen Toda of Navarre was the maternal aunt of 'Abd al-Rahman III. She placed her kingdom under his protection after the death of Sancho Garcés, her husband. There is evidence that she brought many court traditions, like chess, north to Navarre and maintained contact with her powerful relatives in al-Andalus. Later,'Abd al-Rahman III's son, married a Navarrese woman, Subh (also known as Aurora).

In addition to these connections between Arab courts, their poets and performers, and French and Spanish nobility, Boase describes similar themes of love poetry in the two cultural contexts, unlikely to be both simultaneous and unrelated. Among them are love as submission, the beloved's sovereignty, the beloved's need for discretion, (including secret signs), and passionate love as a form melancholy or sickness. These similar themes are found in Bernart de Ventadorn, Guilhem IX, and Chaucer, as well as al-'Abbas, al-Hakam I, 'Abd al-Rahman V, and 'ibn Dawud.[54] While the shared Roman heritage in pan-Islamic culture and West European culture may have also influenced these themes, the pararallels so close in time and space reflect a reverberation from contemporary contact. In effect, there was ample opportunity for cultural borrowing and there is ample evidence of thematic connection, making it probable that Arab literary culture traversed the Pyreneean divide to mix with Occitan culture, creating something new. [55]

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54 Boase's argument also points to the influence on both Arabic and Troubadour love lyric of the philosophical writings of Ibn Hazm, who wrote on the subject of love at length.

55 In Saher Amer's study of cross-cultural influence between Arabic and French in medieval lesbian literature, she similarly distinguishes between the high literate cultural register of transmission and the low register embodied by oral, informal transmission. In her earliest example of a description of lesbian sex in a twelfth century French text, *Livre des manières* by Etienne de Fougères, common symbolism and descriptions are shared with earlier Arabic descriptions of the same acts. These shared symbols include a shield representing the mons, the grinding likened to the action of a mortar and pestle (sans pestle), the image of 'thigh-fencing', and a reference to lesbian's fire being extinguished by women's (cold) ejaculations, were all present in Arabic literature on sexuality that described lesbian sexual acts among many others. These borrowings possibly came from translated texts that have disappeared but were more likely to have come from less formalized means of transmission. Amer also points to two borrowed Arabic words, *trutennes,* meaning two forelocks or mons, and *eu,* being an onomatopoeia for sexual moaning, also found in old French. These words appear in one line: "O does *trutennes* funt un *eu,"* which, if her identification is correct, would mean,"in addition to rubbing two mons, they make a moan." While others have interpreted these words differently, Amer's interpretation, as well as the parallels in symbolism and description, could have derived from oral transmission of understandings of lesbian sexuality.

Not surprisingly, the courts of Aquitaine played a key role in the reverberations of Iberian court culture into Southern France. The role of the courts of William IX, "the troubadour", and his granddaughter, Eleanor, queen of two countries, in the spread of courtly culture from Aquitaine to other parts of Europe has received a good deal of scholarly attention, even while the question of its origins is at times fiercely debated.[56] Eleanor of Aquitaine, granddaughter of William IX, was successively queen of France (1137-1154) and England (1154-1189), is credited with spreading the lively court culture of Southern France northward with her marriages. William IX's father's court, was probably his earliest exposure to Iberian courtly entertainment, from the singing girls referenced above from the sacking of Barbastro. In addition, William IX's sister, Agnes, had been married to King Pedro I of Aragon, who wrote his name in Arabic. After trips to Iberia and the East, William participated in the military campaigns of Pedro's brother and successor, Alfonso I of Aragon. These campaigns brought him into close enough friendship with the Zaragozan court to have received a ninth-century Persian vase as a gift, which also migrated north with his granddaughter when she married Louis VII.

Critics of the theories of transmission come even from the Arabists, who see insufficient similarity between the Andalusi/Arab literary arts and Provençal poetry. Abu-Haider argues against theories of Romance origins of the *muwashshah* as well as its influence on Romance troubadour lyric.[57] Abu-Haider's arguments rest on what he considers the essential elements of each genre of poetry, including its written format. While he makes significant correctives to the appropriate context and terminology of the *zajal* and *muwashshah* and his observations of critical differences between *muwashshat* and troubadour lyric, particularly rhyme patterns and layout, argue against a sophisticated mimicry based on written forms, he ignores or rather buries the more likely informally absorbed, orally understood immitation that would very likely result in

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56 Menocal, *The Arabic Role,* 27-38 and 1-25. See also, Roger Boase, "Arabic Influence," on the fierceness of the debate.

57 J.A.Abu-Haider, *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early Provençal Lyrics,* Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001, 1-30 and 181-257.

the imperfect, simplified borrowing that troubadour lyric reflects vis-a-vis the Andalusian *muwashshah.* In essence, his interest in literate forms and their analyis leads him to dismiss similarities that are not exact replicas. For instance, in discussing the rhyme schemes of Andalusian and Provençal, Abu-Haider points out that the complex rhyme scheme of the Arabic *muwashshah* is characterized by its avoidance of repetition, whereas the troubadour lyric repeats freely. If we consider listening to poetry in a language not well understood, the subtleties of a particular form are easily lost. In transposing an oral form from one language to another, adaptations of rhythm and rhyme patterns can be easily made either because of the unpracticed ear of the transposer or from the different tastes of the intended audience. In a sense, Abu-Haider approaches the process of literary borrowing as strictly a high cultural literate process, in line with his own understanding of that literature. What is much more likely in the case of cross-cultural borrowing from Iberia to Occitania is a much messier process, more like the children's game of telephone, where imperfectly understood oral and perhaps written reception of Arabic poetry was recreated and adapted and performed to suit the needs of audiences in Occitania.

As such, the *muwashshat*'s inspiration from Eastern Arabic into the Andalusi court setting could also be confused. Some have argued that Romance was the origin of the basic verse, with Romance meters being used with classical Arabic language. However, others have explained the difference in meter as a result of the different needs of spoken Arabic in al-Andalus versus Eastern courts in Damascus and Baghdad. These differences made meters governed by stress rather than number preferable in the Andalusi environment, and created the impression that Andalusi *muwashshat* could not have originated in Arabic culture.[58] If we only recognize influence when done by translation or by exact imitation, we blind ourselves to a great deal of the process of cultural interaction.

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58 Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134,* Leiden: Brill, 2002, 273-283, examines the arguments of F. Corriente and Otto Zwartjes in detail as does Gruendlen. Robinson explicitly agrees with the Arabic origins theory and argues it convincingly based on the evidence for the different basis for the meter as well as the much longer history and greater complexity of the Arabic corpus at the time Andalusi poetic forms began flowering.

Although there were metric differences, due to the differences in spoken dialects, the Eastern Arabic court poets availed themselves of very similar themes to the Andalusi courtiers in their *muwashsha*-love, wine, and playfulness. Thus in both settings, courtiers had the full panorama of voices to choose from in their works.[59] These norms, primarily concerned with male companions, are also shared by troubadours north of the Pyrenees. The Andalusian Al-Tabni's poetry employed the full range of *persona*s, from lewd jesting to love-mad, all within a male setting, that is, among court companions. For example, Ahmad ibn Burd al-Ashgar's story of Arab courtiers' adventures in a monastery of "effeminate and willing monks" bore a strong resemblance to male adventures described in William IX's lyric 5, "Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh," although for William it was a bawdy adventure of a pilgrim, with allusions to monks and clerks, with two women.[60] In another poem William outlined an affirmation of courtly conduct that was strikingly similar to that outlined in Arabic works, particularly by Al-Washsha the Baghdadi. In his, "Pos vezem de novel florir," William articulated qualities similar to al-Washsha's: obedience, joy in the proper settings, pleasing acts, and being well-spoken, which would lead the courtier to praise, love and joy.[61]

All of these various events and interrelations brought the writers and performers of Arabo-Iberian literature into contact with an Occitan milieu in which troubadour poetry germinated and flowered in the twelfth century. Boase posits that diplomats were among the transmitters. This he argues is evidenced by the love poetry written by al-Ghazal (772-864) for the Queen of Normandy when he was sent there as an envoy.[62] Other transmitters may have been female musicians captured in military conquest. At the sacking of Barbastro, for instance, according to the *Historia Normanorum,* William VIII of Aquitaine, Guy-Geoffrey, was among

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59 Robinson lays out the comparison between Andalusi and other Islamic world poets, explaining the similarities in themes and forms.

60 *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine,* ed. and trans., by Gerald A. Bond, New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1982, 18-23.

61 Robinson, *In Praise of Song,* 290-91 and *The Poetry of William IX Duke of Aquitaine,* verse no. 7, 28-31.

62 Boase, "Arab Influence, 464.

the leaders for whom the prized booty was 1500 slave girls trained in love songs, poetry, and the art of seductive performance. Guy-Geoffrey was the father of William IX, (nicknamed 'the troubadour') and eventually married Philippa, the widow of Sancho I of Aragon, another participant of the Barbastro siege. Guy-Geoffrey's great granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, is also closely associated with bringing the courtly love tradition to the courts of Northern Europe.[63]

An examination of some of William IX's poems reveal Iberian influence and knowledge of Arabic. In his work, "Farai un vers, pos me sonelh," William wrote about an erotic encounter between the narrator, described as a dressed as a pilgrim, and two ladies. Language is a critical element of the tale as the ladies "diz en son lati" to him-presumably a different language than his own.[64] There are several versions of this work from surviving manuscripts, one from a songbook of the early fourteenth century from Narbonne (C), another from thirteenth century Catalonia (V), and two from Italy (N and N^2).[65] While Manuscript C has been suspected of scribal errors because of its variation from other versions, Patrice Uhl has instead argued that the difference is likely the product of revisions by the author himself, amending his poem depending on the audience, as befits works to be performed orally.[66] The fifth stanza of the poem is particularly relevant to the issue of cultural influence as it is preserved in Manuscipt C. The story of the *chanson* is that the narrator responds to the ladies' remark with babble, rendered in some versions as "Babariol, babarial, babarian."[67] In C, however, the words appear to be a scribal corruption of

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63 Boase, 466, the family of the dukes of Aquitaine had many family connections to Iberia and to setting trends in court culture that will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters, including William, the troubadour's two sisters who married Spanish royalty, as well as his daughter and his granddaughter, Eleanor, who brought these trends to the royal courts of England and France when she married the king of France and subsequently the king of England.

64*The Poetry of William IX,* verse no.5, 18-24**.**

65 Patrice Uhl, "Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et la sorcellerie de Babel: A propos des vers arabes de la chanson V (MS. C)," *Arabica,* T. 38, Fasc. 1 (Mar., 1991), 19-39, 20.

66 Ibid., 38-39.

67 The translation by Bond gives this rendering, but he also provides a photograph of Ms C showing the very different rendering of line, ending in Maharr.

an Arabic phrase, following the Occitan phrase, "*ante Lati*" meaning an 'exotic tongue.' Uhl renders the Arabic as follows: "tarā bāb 'ār/ mara babiliyya, ǧī! ven!/ shāra mā'ā hārr or sāra mā' hārr," meaning "Look! the door of infamy, the sorceress of Babel (babiliyya), Come! Come! he became with her burning."[68] From as early as the 1950's, others have believed this stanza was Arabic, poorly transcribed by copyists who did not understand it, but with different readings of the corrupted Arabic than Uhl gives. Given the difficulties of reading past the scribal errors and the unstandardized transliteration of the Arabic into Latin letters, even in the original, it may be impossible to be certain of the actual phrase. Uhl's argument for his particular reading, however, rests on a literary analysis of the entire verse rather than simply the Latin letters used to express the Arabic phrase. According to Uhl's reading, the Arabic verse provides the 'key' to unlock the meaning in the remaining stanzas, particularly in its reference to the Babylonian sorceress and the story of Harut and Marut, a Qur'anic reference. This story, familiar to those exposed to Iberian culture, involved fallen angels in Babel who were involved in both sorcery and sexual liaisons on Earth against the commands of God. Interpreted thus, the poem not only contains Arabic phrases, but also hinges on an Islamic interpretation of the story of the sorceress of Babylon. Indeed, the poem also contains the figure "enoios" or "enujos" which was a Provençal version of the Arab "hāsid" or trouble-maker, also represented by the cat which the ladies use in stanza eleven to perform magic, á la Marut and Harut, by dragging it up and down the hapless pilgrim's body.

While we cannot be certain that William IX spoke Arabic, it is likely he became knowledgeable enough through these contacts to understand some Arabic. The poem discussed above demonstrates his awareness of Arabic. In another poem, "*Ab la dochor del temps novel,*" commonly interpreted as a love poem, he says "*qu'eu non ai soing d'estraing lati, que m parta de mon BonVezi."* If, rather than a love poem, the poem is instead taken as a courtly ode to a

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[68] Evariste Lévi-Provençal was the first to identify this stanza as likely Arabic, although he rendered it quite differently. See E. Lévi-Provençal, *Arabica occidentalia,* II: 2. "Les vers arabes de Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine," in *Arabic,* I, fasc. 2, 1954, 211.

companion in arms, possibly Imad al Dawla ibn Hud of Zaragoza, as Cynthia Robinson argues, the "strange language" referred to might be Arabic rather than a Provençal dialect, and the line itself an affirmation that good friends can overcome a language barrier. The commonly accepted dating of the poem to around 1120 makes such an interpretation plausible, as William IX was in Aragon, perhaps in Zaragoza, to participate in the military campaign that resulted in the defeat of Almoravids at Cutlanda in 1120.[69] In fact, a poem written with such purposeful ambiguity, understood either as addressed to an erotic love or to a military boon companion, would be well appreciated at the Banu Hud court of Zaragoza. The poet Ibn Hasday wrote in similar dual fashion about a 'union' with his patron being akin to the 'gardens of Paradise.'[70]

The religious and cultural divide between Christians and Muslims within Iberia can be similarly deconstructed by other evidence in the historical record. In the late eleventh century, the heir of the kingdom of Aragon, the future Pedro I, signed his name on most official documents in Arabic, as "*rism bedroh ibn sanjah,*" meaning "drawn by Pedro, son of Sanjeh," (see Figure 1) possibly learned from an Arab teacher in his youth. Some have minimized the significance of Pedro adopting an Arabic signature, reducing it to a fraud-prevention device, by making his signature elaborate and difficult to copy.[71] At the same time, however, his signature reflects a familiarity with Arabic language and culture for it is not just a transliteration of his name into Arabic script but a translation, complete with reference to his father as a surname, imitative of Arabic cultural tradition.[72]

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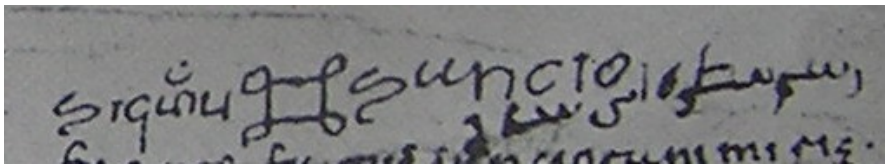
69 *Poetry of William IX*, 18-19, and the facsimile in Appendix C.

70 Robinson, *In Praise of Song,* 305-7, and *Poetry of William IX,* no. 10, 36-37.

71 See for instance, Antonio Ubieto Arteta's dismissal of the "arabization of Pedro", ascribing his translation to a desire to make his signature unforgeable in CDP,18-19.

72 The discussion of this document by Arribas Arranz does not remark on Pedro's signature, and does not transcribe it, although he does transcribe (and discuss) his father's (Latin) signature.

Figure 1-1 Pedro's signature, رش بظره ابن ثنحء Rasm Pedro ibn Sanjeh, immediately below his father's signature, 'Sancio' (image excerpted from Filemón Arribas Arranz, Paleografía Documental Hispánica, vol. 1, 1965, no.13)



Pedro and his family also had connections on the other side of the Pyrenees.73 The family of Pedro's first wife, Agnes, the Dukes of Aquitaine, had its seat of power in Poitou in Southern France. Agnes eventually reigned as abbess of the family monastic foundation at Saintes. Thus in Pedro I of Aragon, evidence of cross-cultural borrowing by people of Iberia, and a viable path for that cultural borrowing into France, is found via family connections and monastic patronage.74 This marriage serves as one example of how a marriage between a Southern French woman and an Iberian man might contribute to a spread of styles, ideas, and forms from a multicultural Iberian court to a southern French monastery.75 This would not be the first or by any means the last marriage between the descendents of the house of Aquitaine and the royalty of the Iberian Peninsula, or between other French houses and the nobility of Iberia.

The story of Gerbert d'Aurillac, the future Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) also shows the Pyrenees as a pathway of Muslim cultural diffusion into France and Europe. Regarding Gerbert

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73 CDP, doc.14. While Pedro's marriages are somewhat unclear, it is agreed that he was engaged to Agnes, daughter of Guy-Geoffrey, Duke William VIII of Aquitaine, in 1086, and was married to her sometime later. She is present at the settlement of a dispute in 1094 in which it says "they made a plea before queen domna Agnes" "*et fecerunt placitum ante Regina domna Agnes."*

74 This pattern will be explored in more depth in later chapters.

75 While some have inferred that Agnes died before Pedro, the evidence is slim, consisting of only a donation made by Pedro for Agnes' soul. While Guy-Geoffrey had two daughters named Agnes (his mother's name), by different mothers, a third Agnes is also a possibility, but unlikely, as Guy-Geoffrey died shortly after the betrothal of Agnes to Pedro. Others have found evidence that Agnes remarried after her marriage to Pedro was dissolved, but this is also on very slim evidence. Agnes of Saintes would have been a child at the time of her betrothal, and there were no children from the marriage. There is confusion about a possible third wife of Pedro as well, and very little known about his second wife, Berta, described only as of Italian origin.

as a conveyer of Arabic learning, the historiography is similar to that for troubadour poetry, often minimizing the importance of Iberian contact. Gerbert was born of modest means in France and around 967 went to Iberia to further his education. The effects and implications of this training South of the Pyrenees, however, were debated or minimized by nineteenth and twentieth-century historians. We know from several sources that Gerbert began his education in the monastery of St. Gerard d'Aurillac in Southern France, then went to Iberia to learn mathematics and astronomy. Ademar of Chabannes (980-1034), not always a realiable source, says that Gerbert went as far south as Cordoba.[76] Richer (d.c.998), Gerbert's student, as well as biographer, only says that Gerbert went to study in Vic with Bishop Atto, and also worked with Guarin, the Abbot of Cuxa, with Lobet of Barcelona, and with Bonfil, later Abbot of Gerona.[77] Whether only to Catalonia or further south to Cordoba, one fact evidenced by this story is that Iberia was a destination for a clever young monk wishing to further his learning in the second half of the tenth century.[78] While Gerbert continued his studies in Ravenna and Rheims, he was also recognized for teaching in these places, presumably based on his earlier learning in Iberia.

But the story of Gerbert is not without controversy. At a symposium on the myth and science of Gerbert held in Bobbio in 1985, two respected scholars, Guy Beaujouan and Emmanuel Poulle, dismiss Gerbert's role in transmitting Arabic science north of the Pyrenees, primarily based on the lack of extant manuscript evidence. The very idea of cultural contact

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76 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronique,* publ. d'après les ms. par Jules Chavanon, Paris: A. Picard, 1897. "Gerbertus vero natione Aquitanus, monacus Aureliacensis Sancti Geraldi eccleiae, causa sophiae primo Franciam, deinde Cordobam lustrans, cognitus ab imperatore, archiepiscopatu Ravenne donatus est*."* While Ademar has been demonstrated to stretch the truth, or lie, when it served his purpose, it is hard to discern what purpose would be served by exaggerating or distorting Gerbert's story. It could, however, simply be wrong information.

77 *Richeri Historiarum libri quator*, public. par l'Académie imperial de Reims; avec trad. par A.-M. Poinsignon, Reims: P. Régnie, 1855. The details of Gerbert's early life and education are in Book III, XLII-XLIV, pp.278-281.

78 Guy Beaujouan, in "Les apocryphes mathématiques de Gerbert, » states « there is a striking contrast between his reputations as the introducer of Arabic science to the West and the almost nonexistence of traces of Arabic influence in his undoubtedly authentic writings, » and Emmanuel Poulle in « L'astronomie de Gerbert, » states « Gerbert learned very interesting things on the other side of the Pyrenees, but not Arabic astronomy. » Cited from Zuccato, "Gerbert of Aurillac," n745. Also see, *Gerberto: Scienza, storia e mito. Atti del Gerberti Symposium (*Bobbio, 1985).

between Arab al-Andalus and Latinate Catalonia was regarded as suspect, since relations between the two worlds are constructed as completely hostile.[79] Despite several accounts, all of which credit Gerbert with bringing learning of arithmetic, astronomy, astrolabes, the abacus, as well as other learning tools to Europe from the Arab world, including that of his student, Richer of Saint-Remi's *Historia Francorum,* as well as Ademar of Chabannes' *Historia Francorum,* and corroborative information in Gerbert's own correspondence, this story of cultural influence has been met with the same type of incredulity by nineteenth and twentieth century historians as was the Arabic influence on troubadour poetry.

Marco Zuccato, however, argues that not only did Gerbert learn and transmit Arabic mathematics and astronomy to the west, but that the availability of Arabic language works in Catalonia most likely was a result of warm diplomatic relations between Catalonia and Cordoba in the mid-tenth century.[80] Indeed, Zuccato argues the policy of 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir (912-61) and his son al-Hakam II, al-Mustansir bi-llah (961-76) of creating peaceful relations with religious minorities and Christian neighbors in *al-thugur* (the frrontier) was matched by the desire of Catalonia to become more independent of France. This encouraged social connections between al-Andalus and Catalonia through diplomatic exchanges at the highest levels of society. Zuccato contends that it was this rapprochement that allowed the earliest transmission of Arabic works into Catalonia and their subsequent translation. He cites particularly the work of two diplomats, one, an eclectic scholar, from the court of Cordoba, Abu Yusuf Hasday ben Ishaq be Shaprut, *nasi* (prince) of the Jewish community in Cordoba (Hasday for short) and the other,

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[79] Zaccaro, « Gerbert of Aurillac », 746, and in Paul Kunitzsch, "Les relations scientifiques entre l'Occident et le monde arabe à l'epoque de Gerbert » in *Gerbert l'européen.* Actes du colloque d'Aurillac, 4-7 juin 1996, Aurillac: Société des lettres, sciences et arts La Haute-Auvergne, 1997, 193-203.

[80] Marco Zuccato, lists four sources, including one particularly problematic one, William of Malmesbury's *De rebus gestis regum Anglorum*, where Gerbert is blown up into a semi-mythical figure, the others being those listed above, in "Gerbert of Aurillac," *Speculum,* July 2005, 742-763. Arguments that Gerbert did not learn Arabic science, despite contemporary testimony to the contrary, rests largely on the assumption that if we have no manuscript evidence that something occurred, we must assume that it did not occur. This syllogism would be hard to defend, as arguments *ex silencio* are rarely, if ever, reliable and, if applied in other arenas, would surely give us a distorted picture of many aspects of medieval history.

Gotmar, future bishop of Gerona and ambassador to Cordoba for the Count of Barcelona in 940. The extended sojourns of each of these two diplomats in Barcelona and Cordoba respectively allowed the intellectual exchange necessary for Gerbert's access to Arabic learning some decades later. Moreover, Gerbert's mentor in Catalonia, Atto, was an associate of Gotmar's, serving as the archpriest and archdeacon of Gerona until 957. The nexus of Gotmar, Hasday, and Atto in Catalonia made Arabic scientific education available to Gerbert.

According to Zuccato, Gerbert's exposure to Arabic science included at least part of the *Sententiae Astrolabii* of the Persian scholar, Al-Khwarizimi, which found its way into Gerbert's work. This indicates that works like it were available in Catalonia at the time. Although the actual translated texts have not survived, according to Gerbert's surviving letters, after leaving Iberia and embarking on a career of court politics and education, he continued to write to Catalonia for texts that he called translations, presumably from Arabic. In a letter written from Rheims to Lobet of Barcelona in 984, Gerbert says, "And so, I am asking you to send me the book *De astrologia,* translated by you."[81] In another letter written the same day to Bishop Bonfil of Gerona, Gerbert apologizes for not being able to follow his orders (presumably to return to Iberia) and adds "Joseph the Wise (identified by Lattin as Hasday) published certain sentences *De multiplicatione et divisione numerorum* and my father, Lord Adalbert, archbishop of Rheims, wishes to have these through your efforts."[82] In still another letter written in 984 to Gerald, Abbot of Saint-Gerald of Aurillac, Gerbert mentions the same book, and describes it as by Joseph the Spaniard (Hasday, again) and having been left by Abbot Guarin of Saint-Michel de Cuxá with Abbot Gerald of Aurillac.[83] Gerbert's correspondence shows that he maintained connections with such Iberian scholars at least through 988.[84]

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[81] Harriet Pratt Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, Letter 32, » Itaque librum de astrologia translatum a te, mihi petenti dirige, et si quid mei voles in recompensationem indubitate reposce. » Lattin surmises in the footnote to this letter that the translation was from Arabic and one of the earliest known scientific translations from Arabic to Latin.

[82] Lattin, *Letters of Gerbert,* letter 33.

[83] Lattin, *Letters of Gerbert*, letter 25. In the note for this letter Lattin discusses the identity of Joseph the Spaniard. She believes that Joseph the Wise and Joseph the Spaniard to be from al-Andalus, and probably refer to one and the

Gerbert's influence on Latinate learning was reknowned in his day. Richer glowingly describes his teacher's influence, saying, "When God wished to rekindle a great light in Gaul which was then covered with darkness, He put it into the minds of Borrell and Archbishop Hatto (Atto) to make a pilgrimage to Rome. With them they took the young Gerbert."[85] According to Gerbert's student, Richer, Gerbert used devices for teaching astronomy, globes and modified astrolabes, that bear a striking resemblance to instruments described by a Jewish North African scholar, Dashan, who appears to have forwarded scientific texts to the scholar and diplomat, Yusuf Hasday in al-Andalus, mentioned above.[86] He urged the teaching of the quadrivium, and pursued training in dialectic and rhetoric after he left Iberia. While these had Greek roots and were known in Western Europe, they were also methods employed by both Jewish and Muslim scholars of religion and philosophy in Iberia and the wider Islamic world. In short, Gerbert's scientific knowledge and his ingenious teaching methods owed much to his exposure to the scholarly Arabic-language world south of the Pyrenees.

Gerbert's remarkable life is known to us because of his important role in the courts of Europe as well as his short-lived papacy, and, as a consequence of his illustrious career, we know about Gerbert's education in Iberia and absorption of Arabic learning. We might ask how many others made a similar journey but, being less clever or accomplished, were not mentioned in anyone's history or chronicle, and had no surviving correspondence. How many others took part in exchanges of information, formally and informally, during trans-Pyreneean soujourns? There are too many tantalizing clues of interaction found in the charters of the monasteries of Southern France to assume that Gerbert was the only one.

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same person, Yusuf Hasday, described by Zuccato, in "Gerbert of Aurillac and a Tenth Century Jewish Channel for the Transmission of Arabic Science to the West", 742-763.

84 See letters, 25, 33, 51, 77, and 120, dated between 984 and 988.

85 Cora Lutz, *Schoolmasters of the 10th century*, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977.

86 *Richeri Historiarum,* Book III, L-LII, pp.284-289.

Documents of Practice: tantalizing clues of cultural interaction

To gauge the depth of relations between tenth to twelfth century France and Iberia it is necessary to look beyond the extraordinary to the more ordinary evidence of day-to-day life for additional interactions between Muslim and Christian, between Iberia and Occitania. Occitan monastic records provide traces of information on Franco-Iberian interactions. Charters from Castille and Aragon provide information on interactions in Iberia between Andalusians and their Christian neighbors. Unlike some other types of sources, the charters and cartularies, as the documents of practice produced by monastic communities, while not without their biases, provide glimpses of day-to-day circumstances in medieval times. Monastic records, as the most extensive records for social history for this period, so will form the backbone of this exploration of cross-cultural interactions. Through names, descriptions, and actions, participants in Occitan charters reveal their Iberian associations.

In Saintonge, in 1134 a man named Arnaud Pharahonis made a donation acknowledging that the abbey of Saintes had fed and clothed him as a boy.[87] Later, in 1150, Arnaudus Pharao, described as a *famulus* of Agnes, the aunt of the reigning duke of Aquitaine and abbess of the monastery Notre Dame of Saintes, accompanies her when she meets to settle a border dispute with the king's dapifer (cup bearer) and a neighboring lord.[88] As Agnes, the daughter of the Duke Guy-Geoffrey, who had participated in the sacking of Barbastro in 1064, Arnaud Pharao may well have been her Muslim slave.

Sometime between 1100 and 1134, the prior of La Sauve Majeure's priory in Navarre, gave two men, Eneco Acenariz and Fortun Garceiz, one half of an uninhabited *casal* in Soteras. The men become the priory's *meschini.*[89] In this area of Navarre, the use of the term *meschinus* for serf indicates the influence of Arabic language and custom, whether or not these two

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87 NDS, doc. 39.

88 NDS, doc. 88.

89 SMC, doc.1244. The meaning of the term used here is probably serf, as the two must pay an annual amount in bread and wine, and the *decima* which pertains to Soteras.

individuals were actually Arabic-speaking. The feminine form, *meschina,* is found as both a surname and given name in the Saintonge and elsewhere in Southern France.[90] For the monastery of Moissac, north of Toulouse, a custom list includes both Muslims and Jews owing *decima* to the monks.[91] Near Moissac, a family described as Saracens were recorded as holding land of the monastery and owing rent.[92]

Other people's names refer to Iberia or an Iberian city. Thus when Fulch Chareus and his wife Pola, offered their daughter, Florentia, along with some property in town to the monastery of Saintes, witnesses were Helias de Hyspania, Ramnulfus Barbusta, and Helias Donjac, (all names with a Spanish association).[93] In the Perigord, a *castellan* family with a long relationship to the Abbey of Saintes, and its priory of Saint Sylvan, included an Ebrardus Espanol, son of Ebrardus de Gardona. While the Gardona family roots were clearly in Perigord, this son had spent enough time in *Hispania* to obtain the moniker Espanol, perhaps as a *miles* in search of adventure and wealth.[94] Finally, there were direct references to travel in Iberia in some monastic documents. Abbess Agnes travelled to Saint-Jacques de Compostella in Iberia in the mid-twelfth century, where the charter was written, in order to obtain documentation from her nephew, Duke William XI, concerning the Abbey of Saintes' minting rights in the city of Saintes.[95]

These are the types of evidence offered by charters. Such traces of contact in the documents of French monastic houses should not be surprising for Occitan monastic communities aggressively expanded into Iberia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with many

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[90] NDS, docs. 46, 106, 119.

[91] ATG, H551 c/o f68.

92 HGH 102H 74.

[93] NDS, doc. 202, several women in this document are described as *scolaribus vero,* Ermengarde, Sibilla, Leitica, Agnes, and Petronilla de Birach, making the entire assortment of participants quite remarkable.

94 NDS, docs. 183 and 185.

[95] CDS, doc. 52, "apud s. jacobum in Hispania."

new priories and abbeys.[96] The French nobility married into the Spanish nobility at a fairly high rate, while these families patronized religious communities on both sides of the Pyrenees. If we consider the Pyrenees as a pathway, traversable at many places, rather than as an absolute barrier, then Southern France becomes a borderland, between Iberian culture and wider Europe. Certainly frontier characteristics such as heterodox identity, militarization, and lack of strong central governance were present there. To consider these characteristics a part of the area's frontier character, we must establish the depth and breadth of the connections between one side of the Pyrenees and another and to what they connected Occitania. Before examining Southern France as a borderland, we must first turn to the area across they Pyrenees, the multi-cultural, polygot milieu of eleventh and twelfth century Iberia, to see whence the pathways through the Pyrenees led.

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[96] See Barbara Rowenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the social meaning of Cluny's property, 909-1049,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989, Constance Berman, *Cistercian Evolution: the invention of a religious order in twelfth-century Europe,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, and Charles Julian Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300,* for example.

CHAPTER TWO: SPANISH CONTEXT TO 1050

In twentieth century historiography, the influence of the culturally mixed, medieval heritage of Iberia has been controversial. Indeed, Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyi in, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," describe a century-long debate that has put cultural identity and religious difference at the center of Spanish historiography:

> "The principal adversaries in the contest [over the origins of Spanish culture], Americo Castro and Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, both political liberals, have debated the proposition that Spanish culture is the result of centuries of intimate contact between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Castro, who supports this position, has been attacked as un-Christian; Sanchez-Albornoz, who opposes it, has been denounced as a racist."97

Understandably, issues of identity and legitimacy engulf the debate over the nature of Iberian medieval culture. Much of the historiography of Iberia has focused on a particular religious identity, (Christian, Muslim or Jewish) and its evolution, or on ethnic differences among co-religionists Mozarab or Roman rite, Muwallad, Berber or Arab. Others engage religious binaries, either in opposition or cooperative cohabitation: Islam and Christianity, Christianity and Judaism, Judaism and Islam. These works often give rise to heroic narratives emphasizing the legitimacy, triumph, survival, uniqueness, or superiority of one of these cultures over the others.[98] While these works expand our knowledge and appreciation of each of these

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97 Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer in "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 11, no. 2 (Apr. 1969), 136-154, p. 138. Américo Castro y Quesada's works, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos,* Origen *ser, y existir de los españoles, The Structure of Spanish History,* and *La realidad histórica de España,* brought the issue of acculturation to the fore of Spanish historiography,although Glick and Pi-Sunyer criticize him for a lack of understanding of anthropological concepts and terms. A visceral rejection came from many other Spanish historians, most notably Sanchez-Albornoz in "España y el Islam," *Revista de Occidente,* vol. 24, 1-30, 1956, while an equally passionate embrace of Castro's characterization came from others like Maria Menocal, *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Iberia,* Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 2002. These diametrically opposed assessments are catalogued by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, in, "*Convivencia* in Medieval Iberia: A Brief History," *Religion Compass,* 3/1, 2009, 72-85.

98 See for example, those looking at cultural identity, Brian Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished:Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon,* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004, and Elka Klein, *Jews, Christian Society, and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona,* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006, and those telling the narrative of one side, Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Iberia,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvani Press, 2003, Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus:711-1492,* Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2000, as well as works that look at on particular subculture, on one side or the other, Jonathan Ray,

cultural groups and aspects of their interaction, they make it difficult to assess the larger process of cultural diffusion.

When discussing issues of cultural diffusion--the spread of technology, crafts, perspectives, ideas from one cultural group to another--it is more useful to look at Iberia as a cultural whole, or rather, as two interactive halves, with shifting boundaries. Although many other languages were spoken in both areas and many people were bilingual, one half had Arabic as its unifying language, and the other had Latin. The former was under the political control of Muslims, while the latter was under the political control of Christians, but neither area was religiously or ethnically homogeneous. In al-Andalus there were Arabs (those who could claim heritage originating in the Arabian peninsula), Berbers, native Iberians, along with others from previously Islamicized area such as Syria, Persia, and Egypt. Religious beliefs were also diverse, those of Christians, Jews, Muslims, possibly Zoroastrians, with sectarian divisions within each of them. From at least the ninth century onward, Christian territories were home to Muslims, Jews, and Christians, as well as to different ethnic groups, both from Iberia, and from other areas of Europe. Languages were diverse, including Arabic, Hebrew, Basque, and various Romance languages, as well as Latin. Even though the peninsula was divided into regions of different religious loyalties, with different political entities, and with different ethnic subcultures and languages, these groups were in dialogue, indeed, in intimate contact in certain times and places.

While religious divisions clearly existed, all of these groups interacted and reacted to each other over time in varying ways, with cultural diffusion or acculturation across religious, political, and linguistic boundaries. Understanding the mechanisms for transfer of cultural elements across these boundaries begins with a more inclusive look at Iberian history, concentrating on the degree of contact between diverse elements present in the peninsula, rather

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Sephardic Frontier: the Reconquista and the Jewish Community in medieval Iberia, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, Diego Adrián Olstein, *La era mozárabe: los mozárabes de Toledo en la historiografía, las Fuentes y la historia*, Salamanaca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 2006, and Josefa Mutgé I Vives, *L'Aljama Sarraïna de Lleida a l'Edat Mitjana: Aproximacióa la Seva Història,* Lerida: Editorial CSIC-CSIC Press, 1992, and Janina M. Safran, "Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus," *Speculum,* Vol. 76, No. 3 (July 2001), 573-598.

than following the identity, adaptation, survival, or erasure of any one religious confession or linguistic group. This is not to say that there were no frictions or animosity within the poly-faith mega-cultures, one Arabophone, and one Latinate. Rather, where there was a shared language, close living quarters, and regular contact between subcultures, barriers to acculturation were less effective. Each of two or even three religions felt an acculturating effect, often worrying about the corrupting influence of living alongside people with different religious ideas. It is in this context that we hear parallel complaints from both parts of Iberia. From the ninth-century Christian community in the Muslim territories came complaints about too much 'arabization' of Christians. From the *ulama* of the minority Mudejar community in Aragon and Castile in the thirteenth century came pleas for advice on how to live a true Muslim life while living in *dar al-harb*.[99]

Since the objective of this work is to understand the pathways for Arabic language-culture's diffusion into Southern France, this chapter's focus will be on areas that were most accessible to Occitan people; that is, primarily the Christian, Latinate sphere of Iberia. In order to understand what contact with Iberia meant for those from just north of the Pyrenees, or even slightly further north, , the stress here is on the cultural influence flowing from Al-Andalus northward over the tenth to thirteenth centuries, rather than vice versa. This is not because cultural influence did not flow the other way. It certainly did, and where it is evident it will be pointed out. It was Iberia's Islamic world connections that made Iberian interactions across the Pyrenees unique within Europe. Cross-cultural influence from Al-Andalus is of prime importance here.

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[99] In *Indiculus Luminosus*, Paul Alvarus laments that "the Christians love to read the poems and romances of the Arabs … not to refute them but to form a correct and elegant Arabic"(R.W.Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 21). While it may be overstating the problem as a way of emphasizing it, it is most likely also true enough to strike a chord with those at whom it is aimed. For the Muslim side of the coin, see Kathryn Miller, *Guardians of Islam,* and her discussion of the concerns raised by the *ulama* in their correspondence with Muslim jurists on questions about whether it was indeed possible to be a good Muslim in Iberia, 22-24, especially.

It was through the Iberian Christian territories that elements of Arabic culture first found their way across the Pyrenees into France. In referencing this territory as "Christian," I mean only that Christianity was the religious affiliation of those in political control. Similarly, when referring to the Al-Andalus as Muslim territory, I do not imply that it was religiously homogeneous either. The complexity of the Muslim-controlled world, ethnically, linguistically, and religiously, including Al-Andalus, is well established in the scholarship of the last century.[100] In both areas, it was a written language, (Latin in the Christian arena and Arabic in the Muslim), that was a unifying force. Language more than political control or religion provides an opportunity for acculturation. Thus we can talk about a medieval Latinate Christian mega-culture and a medieval Arabic-Muslim mega-culture, and the Iberian penninsula was one of the earliest areas where these mega-cultures (Arabic-language culture and Latin-language culture) were in contact.

The study of frontiers finds cross-cultural contact is key to acculturation.[101] To explore acculturation in Iberia, and cultural diffusion to France, terms need to be defined. Thus culture, in the anthropological definition, is an all-encompassing entity reflecting the characteristics of human society. Culture includes the attitudes, values, technology, arts, social and economic organizations that characterize a society. Culture, as such, is not static, it is always adapting to both internal and external stimuli. Melville Herskovitz, in an early work on acculturation stated that within this broadly-defined notion of culture, "[whenever] groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." He notes further that "acculturation…is to be

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100 See Richard Bulliett, *Islam:the View from the Edge,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1994 and *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: an essay in quantitative analysis,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, S. D.Goitein , *A Mediterranean Society,* Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, Maya9 SHatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World,* Leiden: Brill, 1994, and Olivia RemieConstable, *Housing the Stranger in the Medieval Mediterranean World,* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003 Also see on the al-Andalus, D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* Vol. 34, No. 1, 2004, 65-94, also discussed in *Chapter Four.*

101 Melville Herskowitz, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact,* New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938, 14- 15.

distinguished from… *diffusion,* which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact [continuous, first-hand] between peoples specified in the definition given above, but [which] also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation."[102] That is to say, diffusion is the broader term that represents the dissemination of culture through both direct and indirect mean, while acculturation is a specific type of diffusion which is dependent on direct, prolonged contact between people of different but autonomous (not entirely dependent on each other in any significant way) cultural systems.[103] While there certainly were relationships of political and economic dependence varying over time between areas of al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms to the north, much of medieval Iberia experienced such acculturation as defined here; that is, prolonged, first-hand contact between two distinct cultural spheres. Southern France's absorption of and reaction to elements of Arabophone culture was more the result of a diffuse process, a result of shorter and more intermittent contacts, including those through the intermediary culture, that of Christian Iberia.

In his essay, "The Significance of the Frontier," Fr. Robert Burns, describes two competing historiographical concepts of a frontier in the Spanish historiography. Under one concept of the frontier, the initial eighth-century Muslim conquest of Iberia is imagined as a violent conquest whereby the native population was supplanted by Arab and Berber conquerors, while the Visigothic Christians retreated to the northwestern extremities. This concept of the frontier encompasses as well the later Christian notion of *Reconquista*, in which Christian Europeans pushing southward, eventually supplanted Muslim Arab people, according to some historiography. In both cases, violent conquest on such an imagined frontier led to a 'spatial transplantation of population and culture with resulting evolutionary modification.' In both

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102 Herskowitz, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact*, 10, 14- 15.

103 While autonomous is a relative term in this context, since cultures in contact naturally become interdependent economically and even politically, through alliances and treaties, both of which were the case in medieval Iberia, the term here is used to distinguish acculturation between relatively autonomous cultures and the interactions between subcultures with one society.

imagined frontiers, the perceived result was an abrupt and dramatic transformation of the ethnographic and cultural makeup of the peninsula--a transformation coinciding almost perfectly with a change in political control. Burns suggests an alternate and more realistic concept of frontier based on anthropological notions of the interaction of cultures, 'both by osmotic interchange and in the wake of violent conquest.'104 This second concept of a frontier is less obviously one about political dominance and more about broad interactions (both forced and voluntary), although political power can greatly affect the nature of such cultural exchange. Burns' alternate view of the Iberian frontier is a much more useful construct for understanding externally-stimulated cultural change and more conducive to understanding how Arabic-language culture found its way into Christian Iberia, and Occitania.

Anthropological study suggests that where two distinct cultures are in prolonged contact, externally stimulated change (from one to the other and back) is also a constant. In contrast, as study of post-colonial indigenous cultures has revealed, the complete transplantation of one culture for another, is unusual if not unheard of. While change, broadly defined, is a constant in culture, societies often construct illusions of permanence about themselves and their institutions to protect the existing social order and the interests of dominant social group(s). There are two rare (perhaps nonexistent) extremes in the cross cultural change spectrum, no acculturation or complete cultural annihilation or replacement, but acculturation is the norm. Yet these extremes of replacement or no acculturation are what has underpinned the romanticized Arab conquest and Christian *Reconquista* model that has often defined medieval Iberia and its neighboring Southern France.[105]

Yet, societies often obfuscate and even deny acculturation. They do so in order to preserve an illusionary sense of cultural integrity, stabilize authority structures, and mitigate the

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104Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier," in *The Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom: Expansion, Contraction, Continiuty,* Farnham, Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008, 51-75.

105 Glick, et al., "Acculturation as an explanatory concept in Spanish History," 141, including note.

social disruption that accompanies rapid cultural change. Hence, if an existing social hierarchy has been justified by religious authority, for example, a foreign religious paradigm might challenge and disrupt the acceptance of that social order, and hence undermine the position of those privileged by it, those with the most power. Therefore, while cultural borrowing is normal, it is also normal for societies to erect barriers to cross-cultural interaction, when a need to preserve cultural integrity is perceived. Although social scientists disagree about the root causes for this characteristic of human societies, they do agree on the near universality of the desire to protect and preserve what is perceived as a static, native culture, however illusory that stasis might be.[106] One reason is perhaps that, while cultural borrowing can be a great stimulus to innovation and often beneficial to societies, too rapid acculturation, too much coercion, or too complete an adoption of foreign elements too quickly produces social instability, undermining existing economic, gender, and social hierarchies.[107] Barriers and filters, the means by which a society might try to block, limit and blend external stimuli into existing frameworks and institutions, are attractive, if not always effective responses to competing cultures, as a means to prevent the social disruption and decrease in social cohesion that can accompany rapid acculturation.[108] For example, the response of some modern Islamic countries to rapid

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106 For different views, see Vito Signorile, "Acculturation and Myth," *Anthropological Quarterly,* Vol. 2, No. 6, 1973, 117-34 cites the role of adaptive myth, myth that defines the group, in the formation of group identity as a key motivator for cultural integrity; Margaret T. Hodgen, "Glass and Paper: an Historical Study of Acculturation," Southwest Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1945, 466-497, who argues that desire to preserve culture is only overcome when both the advantage and the circumstances are right, George Devereux and Edwin M. Loeb, "Antagonistic Acculturation," Sociological Review, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1943, 133-47, who examine the psychological underpinnings of our desire for cultural integrity, Social Science Research Council Seminar on Acculturation, "Acculturation: an Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist,* New Series, Vol. 56, Vol. 6, Part 1, 1954, 973-1000, discusses both boundary-maintaining mechanisms and self-correcting mechanisms and their roles in maintaining cultural integrity in the face to cross-cultural challenges.

107 Glick and Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept," 140-141.

108 For more information on acculturation and diffusion, including antagonistic acculturation, which will be discussed more in subsequent chapters, see Margaret T. Hodgen,"Glass and Paper: an Historical Study of Acculturation," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* Vol. 1, No. 4, 1945, 466-497; Greg Wolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *World Archeology,* Vol. 28, No. 3, Culture Contact and Colonialism, Feb. 1977, 339-350; Vito Signorile, "Acculturation and Myth," *Anthropological Quarterly,* Vol. 46, No. 2, Feb. 1973, 117-134; "Acculturation: an Exploratory Formulation, the Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953, *American Anthropologist,* New Series, Vol. 56, No. 6. part 1 (Dec. 1954), 973-1000; and Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovitz,"Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist,* New Series, Vol. 38, No. 1, (Jan.-Mar., 1936), 149-152. Others identify psychological

Westernization is to impose strict dress codes, particularly on women, or to restrict or close news outlets. These could be seen as attempts to block or control acculturation that threatens existing gender and political hierarchies.

Cultural barriers that might slow down and filter cultural absorption include religious and/or ethnic bigotry. That is, a culture of intolerance fed by polemic creates social distances where physical distances are lacking. Like language, however, this type of barrier is also imperfect and can only slow, but not completely stop, cultural diffusion. Similarly, physical segregation, using ghettos and legal frameworks to minimize interaction across cultural boundaries, as is eventually found in Christian Leon-Castille, is another means of slowing acculturation or lessening cultural influence. Institutional rigidity can also slow cultural absorption. For example, the post-Gregorian reform medieval Roman Church, was an increasingly rigid institution, with a well-elaborated hierarchy and high barriers for entry into its ruling elite.

Categorizing societies by these factors is helpful in broad comparative analyses, but within any given society these factors can vary enormously across geography, time, place, and social class. While specific institutions may strive for rigidity and attempt to limit change, individuals within those institutions may be more open to innovation and change. There is a considerable openness in individuals to cultural change. Those individuals who are sufficiently motivated will cross linguistic, institutional and tolerance/intolerance barriers to adopt what seems useful or beneficial. It is such individuals who can challenge an institution from within.

Literate societies, perhaps, have better defenses against the absorption of foreign elements. Written laws, charters, and written (as opposed to oral) literature make it more difficult, although certainly not impossible, for change to occur, at least in the registers of literate culture,. Even in highly literate societies such as our own, however, we are still influenced in

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and socialization traits in humans, such as the need to be socialized to a group, the need for unity within that group, that lead to a desire for uniqueness and superiority of the group and its corollary, a desire to ‘other’ competing groups and limit their influence.

'non-literate' ways-through word of mouth, visual culture, and day to day experiences. In short, while such categorizations are helpful in analyzing difference, their existence should not blind us to the possibility that a society with rigid institutional barriers can change when a cross-cultural institution or idea becomes known, appears desirable, or when circumstances make an adaptive response useful to powerful social groups. Even within a highly developed institution, such as the Western European monastery or church, the rate of acculturation may increase if changing circumstances present a perceived benefit or need for cross-cultural exchange.

Such barriers or naturalizing processes, which slow, adapt and integrate foreign culture less disruptively, mean that a "paper trail" of cultural borrowing is often lacking, except in the case of self-conscious literate acculturation. This latter type of acculturation is seen in the post-conquest Roman adoption of Greek literature in the second century BC, the Ummayed caliphate's extensive translation of Persian, Indian and Greek works into Arabic in the eighth century, and Alfonso the Learned's project of library translations in the thirteenth century.[109] All of these are instances of selective acculturation consciously pursued in literate high culture. In contrast, the greater part of acculturation and cultural diffusion occurs when ideas move across cultural and linguistic divides through both literate and non-literate media. In these cases, explicit documentation is elusive. We rarely recognize in our day to day lives from where our ideas eminate, or from what influences we are borrowing. Thus, historians examining issues of acculturation and cultural diffusion need to replace the question 'where is the proof of cultural diffusion?'with 'where is the proof of preventing cultural diffusion?' Prevention of such change would be the more exceptional situation.[110]

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109 Charles Burnett, "The Translating Activity in Medieval Iberia," *The Legacy of Muslim Iberia,* 1036-1058, and Burns, Robert I. "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned." Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance. Ed. Robert I. Burns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990. 1-13.

110 Both Glick and Sunyer in"Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," 136-138, and Elena Lourie in"Belchite, the Templars and the Ribāt," 159-163, come to similar conclusion in examining the issue of acculturation and medieval Iberia, and note the resistance to adopting this lens, with cries of 'where is the proof?' and 'not proven,' marginalizing the evidence.

Once we accept that cultural diffusion is the norm, our task becomes examination of the conditions for acculturation and diffusion, the pathways, and their effects on the societies in contact. This means that our methodology changes from looking for explicit acknowledgement or irrefutable evidence that culture A borrowed an idea, institution, or technology from culture B, to a methodology of looking at possibilities that similar or related developments on either side of a cultural frontier were the results of acculturation or diffusion. Thus in cases of prolonged contact between two cultures, when an idea or innovation from one culture is found in another, some form of acculturation is assumed to have occurred there is no need to provide an explicit acknowledgement or a pedigree for an idea, innovation, or cultural form. The degree of borrowing might then be assessed by examining the the paths of adaptation, the similarities of structures, purposes, and institutional composition, on either side of a cultural divide.

For example, Elena Lourie uses some of these anthropological categories and methods in her article "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribāt, and the Temple," to evaluate the degree of influence, as exemplified by Belchite, that the Muslim frontier institution of the *ribāt* (a frontier fortress manned by fighters who practiced prayer and asceticism as part of their service of *jihad)* had on the Christian monastic institution of the Knights Templar along with other military/religious orders in Christian Iberia. Lourie argues that cultural borrowing is rarely a slavish imitation of another culture's institutions, but rather an adaptation of 'the other's" ideas to suit the needs of the adoptive culture. She sees this as a process that can occur in several stages. She regards the institution of Belchite, where fighters served in the name of religion but only for a limited term with no permanent vow, as a halfway step between the temporary religious military service of the *ribāt* and the permanent monastic model found in the well-developed Christian/religious military orders, as exemplified by the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers.111 With the short-lived Belchite experiment as a first step, the Muslim cultural institution of the *ribāt* was naturalized into Christian culture.

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111 Elena Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribāt, and the Temple," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* vol. 13, 1982, 159-176.

If there is a weakness in Lourie's treatment it is her timidity in pushing the idea of influence beyond identical institutions. Her analysis is hampered, moreover, by the assumption that during the twelfth century all forms of Christian religious life were identical to regular monastic membership, with its lifelong vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty. Rather, the religious life of the twelfth century was rife with other non-permanent, quasi-monastic models such as those of the Beguines, Humiliati, Poor of Lyon, and others, both those sanctioned by the church and those deemed heretical. If Lourie had separated the institutional interests and position of the church from the broader interests of military men looking to use their skills in some religious way, she might have recognized more cultural influence between the *ribāt* and the Christian military orders. There is no reason to assume that a Muslim construct of religious benefits derived from military services on a religious frontier had not penetrated into Christian territories well before it found expression in the fortress at Belchite. If we begin with the premise that acculturation is likely given prolonged contact, the long period of pre-twelfth-century frontier contact suggests that the *ribāt* was known in Christian Iberia, and elsewhere in Europe, long before the first military religious order is documented circa 1120. Indeed, a gift made by Pedro I to the bishop of Huesca shortly after that city's conquest by Aragon in 1097, reveals among the recipients of lands, people and rights, the "warrior canons of God" (*canonicis Deo militantibus)* attached to the see of Huesca.[112] Although no details are provided about these knightly canons, the phrase hints at a similar fusion of the Muslim institution of the *ribāt* with Christian military religious institutions even before the Knights Templar appeared.

Lourie's analysis may also miss a similarly derivative institution, *cruce signatus,* the crusader vow, whereby military men undertook a temporary religious vow to fight enemies of the Christian faith, including heretics at home. While this institution sometimes lacked the

112 CDP, 30, "Do iterum prenominate sedi episcopque ac *canonicis ibidem Deo militantibus* villam que vocatur Banaries que est prope Orrios, cum omnibus terminis suis, cultis et incultis, ac cunctis omnimodo rebus mobilibus et immobilibus, cum omnibus hominibus habitantibus et habitaturis in omnibus et per omnia, sicut usque ad presentem diem mei fuit iuris ac possessionis, ut possideat eam semper Ihesu Nazarenus et sanctus Petrus et predicte sedis episcopus atque canonici, liberam et ingenuam iure hereditario, sine alicui molestia vel inquietudine."

frontier fortress characteristic of the *ribāt,* it perfectly encapsulated the idea of religious benefit in exchange for temporary military service. Lourie has too essentialized the post-Gregorian Reform Church's privileging of monasticism. In the end, a temporary service model like the *ribāt* was unacceptable to the post-Gregorian reform Latin Church, except for the quasi-institution of Crusade. It was, therefore, the more naturalized version found in the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, with their privileging of lifelong monastic vows, that eventually won out. The example of Belchite, however, is in fact a demonstration of how cultural borrowing can occur, oftentimes with an imperfect understanding of the institution or idea being borrowed, and how institutional barriers, serve to adapt and bring borrowed institutions and ideas into the service of existing social elites such as the Church and the nobility, with failed attempts, such as Belchite and its ilk, left by the wayside.113

Such barriers or filters allow a process of "naturalizing" foreign elements. One type of filter, limiting cross-cultural communication is language, but it is not absolute. Languages, as cultural artifacts themselves, are susceptible to acculturation, as words and phrases, idioms, and even complex ideas, find their way from one language into another. Periods of prolonged contact create bridges of bilinguality, moreover, as happened in medieval Iberia. There prolonged contact created significant bilingualism among the population.

As Mozarabs, Mudejars, and Jews travelled relatively freely throughout the peninsula, or maintained contact in other ways with their communities in Al-Andalus and other parts of the Islamic world (by letters and literature, for example), Iberian bilingualism brought Arab-Islamic and Latinate-Christian spheres closer to one another.[114] Thus, Gloria Anzaldúa, in her work,

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113 cf., Chapter 7 for more on the process of cultural borrowing. William Stalls, in his essay, "The Relationship between Conquest and Settlement on the Aragonese Frontier of Alfonso I", *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* Leiden: Brill, 1995, 216-231, argues that there was a delay of several years between Alfonso's military conquests of various territories and his granting of *fueros,* indicating that settlement was not necessarily on his original agenda but more likely a response to a changing situation on the ground. Holding the frontier made the development of some sort of institution for military service highly desirable.

114 See Goitein, Constable, Guardians of Islam, and Hitchcock and Reilly which all provide evidence of Jewish contacts (Constable and Goitein) Muslim movement and communication (Guardians), and Mozarab migrations across boundaries (Hitchcock and Reilly)-all point to continuing contact.

Borderlands/La Frontera, discusses the complex array of languages in the borderlands of North America, in which bilinguality created a variety of hybrid languages for use according to the situation.[115] We can imagine a similar language evolution in the borderlands of Iberia, especially in areas with unstable or shifting political boundaries.

So even though differences in language across a cultural divide can limit communication of competing ideas, values, and technology from one side of the divide to another, language as a barrier to acculturation is not impermeable and prolonged periods of contact will inevitably weaken if not eliminate its filtering effects. Communication, in all forms and registers, is key to acculturation. Language, therefore, can also be a gauge of acculturation and of the chronology of acculturation across a linguistic divide.116 Fortunately, the development of the Iberian languages, with their abundant borrowings from Arabic, has been the subject of extensive study since at least the early sixteenth century.117 Eero Neuvonen categorized the adoption of language from Arabic to European languages by geography and time period.[118] Using his chronology, an examination of charters reveals evidence of acculturation from Arabophone culture to Latinate culture before 1050.

Al-Andalus and the significance of contact

The frontier of Iberia over the eleventh and twelfth centuries was an evolving space, with periods and places of ambiguity, back and forth allegiances, and shifting political control. Before embarking on the examination of cultural diffusion, it is necessary to explore what that diffusion meant, in order to understand the significance of contact and communication with

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115 Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: the New Mestiza,* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987, 75-85.

116 Glick et al, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept,"145.

117 R. Dozy, *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes,* Beirut :Librairie du Liban, 1987 and *Glossair des Mots Espagnols et Portugais Dérivés de l'Arabe,* Beirut : Librairie du Liban, 1974, Eero Neuvanen, "*Los Arabismos del Español en el Siglo XIII', Studia Orientalia X-1,* Helsinki : 1941 and Pedro de Acala, *Vocabulista Aravigo en Letra Castellana,* in *Arte Paraligeramnte saber la Lengua Araviga Alcala,* New York: 1928, facsímile of Alcala's work of 1502.

118Eero K. Neuvonen, "Los Arabismos del Espanol en el Siglo XIII," *Studia Orientalia,* Vol. X, 1942,28-29.

Arabophone Muslim Iberia. Why would contact with al-Andalus have the potential to transform Europe?

The two cultures facing each other over the Spanish March were not total strangers, but much like distant cousins. Looking at the Islamic culture was perhaps like looking in a distorted mirror, familiar but terrifyingly and mesmerizingly dissimilar. As Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer describe it, "[t]he Islamic society which presented itself to the inhabitants of eighth-century Iberia was a newly formed, heterogeneous, and intra-acculturating body of Arabs, middle-easterners of varying cultural backgrounds, arabized Jews, and Berbers," while the Christians they conquered "represented in turn different degrees of Romanization and Germanization."[119] Missing from this description is the fact that many of the "middle-easterners of varying cultural backgrounds" were from areas that had similarly been both Romanized and Christianized, to greater or lesser degrees, such as Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa. Therefore, both Muslims and Iberians shared a Roman cultural patrimony. Whether it was recognized by everyone or not, moreover, the Christian north and Islamic south also shared common religious roots in Abrahamic monotheism. Enhancing this shared heritage, however, were influences that were less familiar and more exotic to the northern Germano-Roman inhabitants. Most notably, culture absorbed from the Arabian peninsula, Mesopotamia, and Persia, had merged with the cultures of the Roman Empire into the pluralistic society of Islam. It was this complex hybrid of the familiar and the foreign that confronted Latinate Christians when they came into contact with Islam in Iberia.

Part of Islam's wealth in Iberia and elsewhere was due to the agricultural revolution of the ninth century, which saw the introduction of a wider variety of foods from as far away as India, along with the organization and dissemination of knowledge and technology for cultivation of those foods and investment in irrigation technology to maximize yields in what were before marginal lands. All of these innovations brought to al-Andalus an improved diet,

119 Glick and Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation in Spanish History," 147-148.

better health, and better agricultural yields, and the administrative apparatus to maintain the necessary infrastructure.[120] This agricultural development included the cultivation of a variety of non-subsistence crops, such as sugar, woad, silk, flax, and cotton, suitable for trade.[121] Hence, Islam's agricultural revolution was the foundation for trade networks connecting the already far-flung Arabic-speaking world with even more distant areas, such as the eastern Persian provinces, China, India, and Sub-Saharan Africa.[122]

As a result of its access to Islamic agricultural developments and trade networks, the population of al-Andalus became distinct in several ways from its northern Christian neighbors. While still an overwhelmingly agriculture-based society, there were more urban centers with higher populations than elsewhere in the West. The population of the Islamic Iberia in the early eleventh century has been estimated at six million overall, with the major cities of Cordoba, at around 90,000, Sevilla, 52,000, Badajoz, 20,000, Granada, 17,000, Murcia, 17,000, Zaragoza, 17,000, Toledo, 28,000, Jerez de la Frontera, 24,000, and Huesca 7,000. These estimates far

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120 Bernard Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Iberia,1031-1157,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, 30-32*,* credits the adoption of Andalusian irrigation techniques with the stimulation of the agricultural expansion experienced by the north in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For a description of the Islamic agricultural revolution see, Andrew Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: the diffusion of crops and farming techniques,700-1100,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. For a the evolution of institutions of agricultural exploitation and rural governance, see SatoTsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahan,*Leiden: EJ Brill, 1997. For more specifics on agriculture in Iberia see Reilly above and the essays by James Dickie, "The Hispano-Arabic Garden, 1016-1035, Expiración Garsciá Sánchez "Agriculture in Muslim Iberia" 987-999, and Lucie Bolens, "The Use of Plants for Dyeing and Clothing: cottong and woad in al-Andalus, a thriving agricultural sector (11^{th}-13^{th} centuries, 1000-1015, in *The Legacy of Muslim Iberia*, ed. by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Leiden: EJ Brill, 1992.

121 Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahan*, Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J.Brill, 1997*,* and Garciá Sánchez, "Agriculture in Muslim Iberia, 994-5, Lucie Bolens, "The use of Plants for Dyeing and Clothing," 1001, and James Dickie, "The Hispano-Arab Garden," 1017-1035 in *The Legacy of Muslim Iberia*.

122 S.D.Goitein, *A MediterraneanSociety, vol 1: Economic Foundations,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967)discusses the long-distance trade relationships evidenced by the documents in the Cairo Geniza, including land routes to Persia and China, sea routes to East Africa and India, especially chapter III, Introductory Note and Commodities, Trade Routes and Prices. Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350,* ()takes a broad look at the international system, although at a later date. Her description of the system before the introduction of the Mongols is perhaps valid for the period with which we are concerned and describes the complexity of the relationships. For more detailed description of the labor specialization this engendered, see Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World.* For the agricultural system's trade components, see Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahan,* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J.Brill, 1997), especially his detailed discussion of Egyptian agriculture production under the *iqta* system.

outstrip the population of the Christian north of Iberia, estimated at no more than 2000 urban inhabitants in 1031.[123]

This relatively dense population in Islamic areas was made possible by Muslim use of irrigation technology. It utilized a variety of technologies depending on physical circumstances: above and below ground canals with water-driven and animal-driven wheels to move water to where it was needed, whether to irrigate crops or sustain people or livestock. This technology may have moved north faster than the Christian warriors moved south. For instance, Reilly credits the borrowing of the Muslim *noria,* a water-driven wheel using clay buckets, brought north by migrants from al-Andalus, for the tenth-century agricultural expansion in Christian-held territories.[124] At the same time, Al-Andalus*i* control of key territories in Northern Africa tied it to a supply of gold, slaves, and ivory from sub-Saharan Africa that increased the overall wealth of the peninsula, allowing Andalusi rulers access to some of the finest wares and talents of the Islamic world.[125] The widespread sea and land trade routes of the Islamic world provided markets for al-Andalus*i* goods, as well as access to textiles, foods, and technology from other parts of the world. Alongside this trade, Muslim Iberian rulers established the judicial, mercantile, and administrative institutions necessary to support city life and a commercial economy.[126] In all of these ways, the culture of Islamic Iberia was distinct from its northern neighbors.

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123 Bernard Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Iberia,* 8-9, according to Reilly, these populations outstrip even Roman development of the peninsula. Reilly cites Josiah Cox Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (Bloomington, IN: 1972), 178. Also, for Huesca and Ebro valley, see Carols Laliena and Philippe Senac, *Musulmans et Chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen Âge,* :Minerve, 1991, 38.

124 Reilly.*The Contest of Christian and Muslim Iberia*, 29-30. *Noria* comes from the Arabic *na'ara,* earthen jug but also now referred to as Persian wheel per *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* J. M. Cowan, ed. R. Dozy, in *Supplement aux dictionnaires Arabes,* vol. II, 88-89, the use of *na'ara* or na 'ura, for a water wheel is of Palestinian origins. Although Reilly terms the northern immigrants Mozarabs, according to Hitchcock this is a very imprecise term before the twelfth century and no religious affiliation can be drawn from its use. The presence of Andalusian immigrants in this period is surmised by the presence in charter records of both place names and people names of Arabic origins. These names persist into the eleventh century and beyond, both as first and last names of people in territories long in Christian control, as will be shown.

125 Ibid., 9, Olivia Remie Constable, Trade and Traders in Muslim Iberia: the commercial realignment of the Iberian Peninsula,900-1500, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

126 Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Iberia,* and Evariste Levi-Provencal, *La Civilisation Arabe En Espagne, Vue Generale*,

Shifting Borders and Frontier Ambiguity: Before 1050

Although we have been speaking of Al-Andalus and the Christian north as discrete entities, the frontier between them was largely unstable and shifting from the tenth century onward.[127] Among the Navarrese towns which went from Muslim to Christian control in the tenth and eleventh centuries were Tafalla, Ujué, Aibar, Sos del Rey Católico, and Calahorra. Over the same period several more towns in that region, Carcar, Falces, Peralta, Funes, Caparroso, Carcastillo, and Uncastillo, moved back and forth between Muslim and Christian control. This seesawing geography between Christian and Muslim rule created intimate contact between increasing numbers of Arabophones and Romance speakers. Rule was often accomplished through inter-marriages and alliances, as well as encroachment and military campaigns.

In the north, while the Christian-held territories were divided between the rulers of Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Barcelona, these political entities also had shifting borders with each other, resulting from similar strategies of intermarriages, inheritance, warfare, and alliances, which created shifting political boundaries. Marriages among the families of Christian rulers in the north occurred on a regular basis in the ninth and tenth centuries. While there were distinct differences in language and culture between, for example, Navarre and Barcelona, these shifting borders between political units also created acculturation. Marriages among the ruling families of Castille, Leon and Navarre were particularly frequent. For example, the Castilian Count Fernan Gonzalez (923-970) married Sancha of Navarre. Similarly, Onneca of Navarre, in her second marriage, married Alfonso IV of Leon (925-931).[128] Garcia Sancho II of Navarre

127 Bernard Reilly, *Leon-Castilla under Queen Urraca,* 5-10, gives a nice overview of the political geography from the late tenth century onward.

128 Sorting out the identities of marriage partners is sometimes difficult because ofsimilar names amongst the male participant and different names used for female participants. For example, Munia is also referred to as Mayor, and Onnaca is sometimes referred to as Toda. The chronicles from which this information comes were written centuries after the events they describe, so there maybe some confusion and conflation occurring. On the other hand,the abundance of Sancho's , Garcia's and Alphonso's is readily apparent. Although some sources refer to Alphonse III(866-910) being Onnaca's second husband, it does not seem possible with the dates for her first husband, 'Abd-Allah, emir of Cordoba, (888-912), unless her first marriage ended before 'Abd-Allah's death, another possibility.

(970-994) married Urraca of Castille. Munia of Castille married Sancho III, el Mayor, of Navarre (1029-1035?). Urraca/Jimenez of Castille married Vermudo III of Leon (1028-1037). Garcia Sanchez III of Castille (1035-1054) married Estefania of Barcelona. Some of these marriages resulted in successful, even if temporary, claims to territory. Thus, the marriage between Sancho el Mayor of Navarre and Munia of Castille created a consolidated state that allowed Navarre to dominate the north during the first third of the eleventh century, but, in addition, Sancho was able to legitimate his control, backed up by military force, with the marriage of his sister-in-law with Count Vermudo III of Leon.[129]

In the same period, marriages occurred between Christian and Islamic rulers as well, tying the rulers of Navarre, in addition to Leon and Castille, to Cordoba. Assona, daughter of Inigo Arista of Pamplona (810-852) (himself half brother to the Banu Qasi ruler, Musa ibn Musa ibn Qasi) was married to a frontier Muslim, Musa ibn Musa ben Fortun, ruler of Huesca and Tudela.[130] Fortun Garces of Pamplona (905-925) spent twenty years as a hostage at Cordoba, and his daughter, Onneca, married the Cordovan Emir, ‘Abd Allah (888-912), although later she married Alfonso IV of Leon (925-931). Onneca’s son, Muhammed, married another Christian, named Maria, with whom he fathered ‘Abd al-Rahman III (929-961), the first Andalusian to take the title *khalife* (929-961) in Iberia[131]. Onneca's children from both of her marriages created family ties and relationships between the caliphate and the rulers of Navarre in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was a result of these close family relations that Queen Toda of Navarre (931-934 (maternal aunt of ‘Abd al-Rahman III) placed her kingdom under the protection of ‘Abd al-Rahman after the death of her husband, Sancho Garcés (905-925). The Cordoban emir

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129 Reilly, *Leon-Castile under Queen Urraca,* 5-15 and Larrea, *La Navarre du IVe au XIIe Siécle,* 199-210, and *Reinas Medievales Espanõlas,*Madrid: Alderabán, 2000, 45-77.

130 Juan José Larrea, *La Navarre du IVe au XIIe siècle: Peuplement et société*, Paris: De Boeck & Larcier, 1998, 216, and Bernard Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*: *1031-1157,* Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1992, 25-32.

131 Khalife was a title of religious as well as political leadership. In theory, only one person in Islam should carry the title at any one time, so the change was significant since the Abbasid khalife existed as well.

then came to her aid at least once to suppress a rebellion.[132] 'Abd al-Rahman's son also married a Navarrese woman, Subh (Aurora). Other marraiges may be mentioned. Fruella II of Asturias (924-25) married Urraca, the daughter of Muhammad ben Lope governor of Toledo.[133] Sancho Garces II (970-994) married his daughter Abda (possibly the daughter of a Muslim herself) to Almanzor (978-1002), first a *vizir* then the *hajib* of the caliphate; their son, 'Abdal Rahman 'Sanchuelo' was *hajib*, in turn, in the early eleventh century in the waning days of the caliphate.[134]

In addition to these intra and interfaith marriages among ruling families in the peninsula, eleventh-century military actions and other types of encroachment (both intra-religious and inter-religious) enlarged the territory and status of Christian rulers. In 1017, Alfonso V of Leon took advantage of a young, inexperienced ruler to wrest control of half of Castille from Garcia Sanchez (1017-1029).[135] Similarly, Sancho el Mayor of Navarre (992-1035) became the dominant ruler of the north and successfully expanded his children's inheritance through a combination of strategic marriages and military aggression, taking effective control of Leon, Castille and Aragon (only a small principality at the time) during his lifetime, but also making the counts of Barcelona his vassal.[136] After his death, military encroachments continued as his children fought each other for control. Ramiro I expanded his territory with the addition of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza in 1045, while Fernando defeated Garcia Sancho of Navarre in 1054 for control of the lion's share of his father's territory.[137]

Changes in the political fortunes of Al-Andalus during the same period provided greater opportunities for territorial encroachment by the northern powers. After a period of relative calm

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132 José María Lacarra, "LasGenealogías del Codice de Roda, Medievalia, 10, 1992, 213-6.

133 Evariste Levi-Provencal, "La mora Zaida," *Hesparia*, 1954, 1-8.

134 Pierre Guichard, *al-Andalus 711-1492*: *une histoire de l'Espagne musulmane,* Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2000, 85-95, and María Jesus Fuente, *Reinas Medievales en los Reinos Hispanicos*, 45-47 and 53-54.

135 Reilly, *The Kingdom of Leona-Castilla under Queen Urraca: 1109-1126,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 5-8.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.

in the tenth century, the beginning of the eleventh century witnessed the breakup of the caliphate in Al-Andalus and the first period of *fitna* or disorder.[138] During the long reign of the Caliph, ‘Abd al-Rahman (912-961), the frontier areas of Toledo and Zaragoza were brought under control and the end of his reign was relatively peaceful. Under his successors to the caliphate, however, the office of *hajib* was usurped by the *vizir,* Muhammad ibn Abi Amir (husband of the Navarrese princess, Abda), who took the sobriquet al-Mansur. Al-Mansur and his heirs’ ties to the kingdom of Navarre through Abda, however, did not prevent military aggression against the northern kingdoms. Al-Mansur engaged the north militarily, sacking Barcelona in 985 and Compostella in 997, as well as turning southward to occupy Fez in North Africa. As well as destabilizing the frontier between the northenr and southern Iberia, he thus drew the ire of Maghrebi rulers. At al-Mansur's death, he was succeeded by his sons, and it was the second of them, ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Sanchuela,’ (a grandson of Sancho Garcia II of Navarre), who reaped the the instability sown by Al-Mansur’s military aggression. By 1010 Cordoba experienced a revolt against the Caliph Hisham II, an unsuccessful Christian assault on the city, and the political disintegration of al-Andalus began. By 1031 the caliphate was no longer recognized by leaders in the peninsula and rulership devolved to the “party factions” or *taifas,* as regional principalities.[139]

Encroachment, intra-religious-territories, and parias

In these frontier conditions, maintaining a level of cultural and political ambiguity could be advantageous but also risky for residents, as the history of the Banu Qasi family demonstrates. The Banu Qasi, (Qasi was an Arabization of Casius, an area nobleman) a *muwallad* (convert to Islam) family descended from Christians. They had converted soon after the Muslim conquest. They ruled an area of the upper Ebro valley, on the frontiers between competing Christian rulers and the Cordoban emirate. The strategic location of the Banu Qasi territory on the frontier made

138 Ibid., and Pierre Guichard, *al-Andalus,* 96-101.

139 Guichard, *al-Andalus,* 105.

it advantageous for its rulers to underplay religious difference in favor of political expediency. During the late ninth century, this frontier Muslim ruling family had an alliance with the rulers of Pamplona, one of the emerging Christian kingdoms, which was solidified through several marriages between the Banu Qasi family and the Arista family of Pamplona.[140] Although nominally a representative of the Muslim rulers in Cordoba, the Banu Qasi felt free to form political ties across the frontier. This frontier flexibility made the upper Ebro valley from the ninth century onward a place of cultural contact between the Latinate world of Navarre/Pamplona and the Arabic language culture of the south of the peninsula.

The Banu Qasi are an example of this contact and flexibility. As native Iberians, they were most likely bilingual. Arabic was the language of power in Muslim territories so fluency in Arabic would be a prerequisite to political leadership. There is no reason, however, to assume the Banu Qasi had lost their Latinate language skills from back in the eighth century and the time of conquest by Islam. In fact, given the location of their territory, their Latin-based language abilities would be advantageous.[141] Similarly, their identity was likely multivalent. Given a family whose power originated from pre-Islamic times, whose territorial base was an area of fluctuating borders and mixed confessional loyalties, the Banu Qasi's Muslim religious faith was only a part of their identity.[142] This was likely also true, however, of other frontier ruling families with Islamic world origins. Attitudes of independence eventually drew the attention of the rulers in Cordoba and in the tenth century military expeditions were carried out, under the rule of Abd al-Rahman III, against members of the Banu Qasi in order to bring them under

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[140] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula," *Frontiers in Question,* 48-49. "the complex-and not always clear-network of alliances or enmities into which these families (Banu Qasi, Banu 'Amrus, and Banu Sabrit) entered helped to create ambiguous situations, in which more complex factors than mere religious affinities played a prominent role."

[141] The documentation of officialdom written by professionals masks the linguistic realities of multi-cultural sites like the Iberian frontier, so it is difficult to ascertain for certain any particular person's language abilities. Nevertheless, given the recognized strategic advantages to bilinguality in *dar al-Islam,* and the strategic frontier advantages, it is likely the Banu Qasi were able to interact on both sides of the language divide.

[142] In anthropological terms, one would say that the ambiguity of a frontier led to an open society in acculturation terms, and this openness was advantageous to the rulers on both sides, as witnessed by their intermarriages.

firmer control. Other families in the area of mixed origins, the Tujibids, were similarly pressed but ultimately retained power, unlike the Qasi. The Qasi's former allies in Pamplona, the Arista dynasty, fared no better, being forced out in 905 by a rival lord, Sancho I Garcés (905-925), the first of Jiménez dynasty.[143] Nevertheless, Sancho I continued the strategy of intermarriage and alliance with ruling families on the Islamic frontier, and so did cross-cultural interactions on the borders between the Arabic speaking realms and the Latino-Romance speaking realms. After 'Abd al-Rahman III's military forays into the area, the Tujibid's treaties with the Cordoban caliphate repeatedly stipulated that the Tujibids were forbidden to ally with Christian rulers, highlighting one of the greatest continuing problems of Cordovan control of the area, frontier cross-cultural alliances.[144] Despite the efforts of Abdal Rahman III to bring the area under tighter control, the frontier Ebro valley, while still Muslim territory, remained a zone of interaction and cultural openness, and often open rebelliousness.

Similarly, the alliances of *"El Cid,"* Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, represented the same type of frontier ambiguity later in the eleventh century. Rodrigo fell out with the kings of Castile over his shifting cross-border alliances, but he was also useful to them in their own territorial ambitions. He ruled the taifa of Valencia by continuing the practice of ambiguous loyalties.[145] The relative autonomy of the frontier, on both sides, created space for mixed allegiances, bilingualism and multi-valent identity, much to the chagrin of those who sought to exert more centralized control.

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143 *San Juan de la Peña*, 12. Toda, was the daughter of Onneca or Iniga, a Navarrese princess married to the Cordovan *emir* 'Abd Allah when her father, Fortun Garcés was a hostage in Cordoba. There is evidence that she brought many court traditions, like chess, north with her to Navarre. She was the aunt, along with her sister, Sancha, also married to a king of Navarre, of the Muslim ruler 'Abd al-Rahman III, and maintained contact with her relatives. See Boase, "Arab Influence", 463, Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Iberia: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000,* London: 1983, and Marilyn Yalom, *The Birth of the Chess Queen,* New York: Harpers Colins 2004. The Navarrese queen, Toda, wife of Sancho, (905- was the aunt of the Emir/Caliph, Abdal Rahman III, and has been credited with bringing court customs from the Cordoban emirate to the Navarrese realm in the tenth century, the game of chess being one of them.

144Manzano Moreno, "Islam and Christianity," 49. This treaty was after 'Abd al-Rahman III put down a rebellion in Zaragoza in 937.

145 Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain,* 122-124.

The fluidity of borders and the advantages of ambiguous allegiances in these border regions created mixed populations of Romance language speakers and Arabic speakers in a large swath of frontier. In just these areas some ability in both languages would be highly desirable. Just as Christians in Al-Andalus had used their Latin language as a cultural bridge to a Christian North and Europe, and their Arabic language as a bridge to the far-flung Islamic territories, in the same way, Arabized Christians, Jews and Muslims in Christian territories, used their Arabic skills as a bridge to the wider Islamic world. Jews and Muslims in the Christian North had motivations to maintain their linguistic bridges to their co-religionists and relatives in other parts of the wider (Arabic-speaking) Islamic world for not only religious but intellectual, social, and economic purposes, as well as to preserve a sense of cultural identity. The evidence surviving of continued Arabic language use and correspondence with other Islamic areas by these communities suggests the importance of Islamic world ties to these minority communities (even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). These connections were at least equally beneficial, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While Christian kings may have restricted free movement of Muslim inhabitants in the thirteenth century, before then the lack of such restrictions and the importance of pilgrimage to Muslim religious practices made it likely that many Muslims even from Christian areas travelled to Islamic lands during their lifetimes. Lucrative long-distance trade also provided impetus for both Jewish and Muslim travel. Similarly, given changing political conditions in the south and north alike, Christians and others from Al-Andalus continued to migrate to Christian-held territories throughout the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The complaints of and legislative reactions to the difficulty of distinguishing one religious group from another by dress, affirms the fears of cultural slippage that communication and travel back and forth for the Arabophone residents of Christian territory to Al-Andalus was both possible and probable in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[146]

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[146]Kathryn Miller, *Guardians of Islam: religious authority and Muslim communities of late Medieval Iberia,* New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, discusses the connections between the *ulama* in Christian Iberia and those in *dar al-Islam* in the late Middle Ages, including the evidence that they were free to travel and allowed to go on *hajj* until 1300, 23-24. See also S.D.Goitein, *A Mediterranean Societ,* and Remy Constable, *Trade and Traders in*

Fluidity in political boundaries created a shifting frontier and increased long-term contact between Arabic-speaking peoples and Latinate-language peoples, providing the opportunities for cultural diffusion. Competition among rulers in the Christian territories made it useful to have allies of Muslim territorial overlords. Not surprisingly, these rarely documented interactions led to absorption of elements of Arabic culture by people in the Latin Christian north.[147]

Charters before 1050: Arabophone presence in Latinate territories

The presence of Arabic-speaking people in Latin documents is one type of evidence illustrating the interactions created by this border fluidity in northern Iberia in this period. As previously noted, it is difficult to ascertain the languages spoken by people in the past. Given the advantages to bilinguality, especially in border regions, we can perhaps make some assumptions based on evidence left in Latin charters of this period. The charter evidence indicating Arabophone presence might take one of several forms. People may carry a descriptor that denotes their religious or ethnic origins, either as a first or last name, such as Saraceni or Mauro or Hebraeus.[148] They may carry a name of Arabic or Hebrew origins, such as Mahomet or Zaeed, or Judas, or with Arabic/Hebrew structure using *ibn* or *bin* (son of). They may carry a name indicating origins in Al-Andalus, such as Cordoba or Sebellia. Occasionally, they will be explicitly described as Saracen, Moor, Israelite, or Ishmaelite or be associated with a religious institution, such as a mosque. As Hitchcock has argued in his study of Mozarabs, there is a

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Muslim Spain: the commercial realignment of teh Iberian peninsula, 900-1500, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, on the trade between Jews and Arabs in al-Andalus and other areas of Islamic control.

147 Neuvonen, "Los Arabismos del Espanol en el Siglo XIII,28-29.

148Nevill Barbour, "The Significance of the word Maurus with its derivatives Moro and Moor and of other terms used by Meideval writers in Latin to describe the inhabitants of Muslim Iberia," *Actas IV, Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islamicos, Coimbra-Lisboa, 1 a 8 de Setembro de 1968,* Portugal: 1971, 253-66. By the end of the ninth century, maurus had become a generalized term for Muslim in the Iberian peninsula, used interchangeably with Saracen and Arabe. In vernacular, *moro* became the most common designation by the eleventh century, as used in works like *Canto el mio Cid.* While, Iberian Jews were likely multi-lingual, one of the languages they spoke was Arabic in addition to Hebrew and possibly a Romance language. See Klein and Sephardic Frontier on Jewish languages in Iberia.

tendency to label as Mozarab everyone with an Arabic name in Christian territories, even though it is often nearly impossible to tell for certain, during this early period, the religious affiliation, if any, of these disembodied names and descriptions left in charters.[149] While these signifiers do not tell us for certain that people were Arabic speaking, it is a conservative assumption, based on study of other frontiers and borderlands, that people with Jewish or Muslim religion, with Arabic names, or descriptors, likely had access to and were aware of Arabic language culture, if not Arabic fluency.[150] While this may somewhat overstate presence of the Arabophones with these names, it likely also undercounts the Arabophones having names without these telltale signs. Figure 2-1 shows the occurrences in the charters of several monasteries and churches of Northern Iberia of individuals who meet one or more of the descriptive criteria listed above.[151]

Figure 2-1: Occurrence in 6 charter collections of people with Arabic names connoting Arabic-speaking origins found in Iberian Latin charters before 1050

Source/ Location/ #of charters	**# with first name descriptor**	**# with second name descriptor**	**# with Arabic name or structure**	**# identified in text as Muslim**	**Total**
Cardena/Burgos/	29	3	98	0	**130**
Burgos Cathedral/Burgos/	2	3	7	0	**12**
Santiago Cathedral/Compostela/	0	0	0	33	**33**
San Salvador de Oña/Burgos/	0	1	1	0	**2**
Oviedo/	0	2	4	0	**6**
Clunia/	0		3	0	**3**
Totals:	**31**	**9**	**113**	**33**	**186**

149 Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. Hitchcock seeks a better definition of the term Mozarab by looking at when and how it came to be used in the North, and how its use changed over the centuries. He finds that the term was used sparingly and without religious connotation before the twelfth century, to describe someone coming from al-Andalus, possibly with special status in regard to the king. He also describes some of the earliest documentation of Arabophones in the north.

150 David Wasserstein, "The language situation in al-Andalus," *The Formation of al-Andalus, Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences,* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, 1-15 and Elka Klein, *Jews, Christian Society, and Roayl Power in Medieval Barcelona,* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

151 This data is drawn from *Bercerro Gothico de Cárdena*, (BCG), *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos*, (DCB), *La Documentación del Tumbo a de la Catedral de Santiago*, (CSC), *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (1032-1284)* (SSO), Oviedo, Clunia charters from Juan José Larrea, *Navarre du IVe au XIIe siècle.*

An example from the cathedral charters of Santiago in Northwest Iberia demonstrates the interaction and the potential difficulty in identifying Andalusians in Northern Iberia. In 911, Ordono II of Galicia and his wife Elvira gave to the church of Santiago slaves described as ”captured from the Ismaelite people,” a byproduct of the inter-religious frontier conflicts discussed above. Because these slaves were both identified as captured from the Ismaelites and listed by name, we have a list of Latin names identifying individuals who were clearly Iberian Muslims, although their religion is not indicated along with their name, both male and female: “Froilanus, Leodericus Abdela, Froritus Abderahamam and his wife Maria and their daughter Guntina, Zahit, Zahim Scahit, Zahaton, Iausar, Lallus, Fetta, Melchius, Zahit, Aloitus, Fara, Adosinda Anna, Teodegundia Anza, Carrataim, Belita, Rahama, Kerita, Assima, Zahat, Eikar, Abdel, Gatel, Calaph, Cahat, Alfarach, Abuzahat, Feta, and Alazath.”[152] While it is possible that some of these slaves were not actually religiously Muslim, they were culturally Arab, that is, Arabic-speaking, Arabic dressing, etc., and were assumed Muslim in the heat of conflict. Moreover, given that Ordono II himself had been educated at Zaragoza under the Banu Qasi’s, he was presumably familiar enough with Arabicto know that these enslaved prisoners were at least not Christian.[153] Either way, these names show that within Al-Andalus by this time, names could be selected from German, Arabic and Latin, and highlight the dangers of assuming religious affiliation, language, or even geographic origins by first or last name. If the description of the captured is accurate, however, then it is clear that in the tenth century, Muslims in Iberia

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[152] *CSC,* 21, “*Donamus etiam glorie vestre ex mancipiis, quos sancta intercessions vestra de gente hismaelitarum cepimus, nominibus,* followed by the list of names above. The document does not say where the captives were from but it was in the first years of Ordono’s (910-924) reign so perhaps they were captives that had been taken earlier on one of his father’s campaigns, Alfonso III of Leon (r.866-910) or in a minor skirmish, although the wording might argue against that. Ordono’s major campaign against the Muslims did not occur until 913.

[153] Encyclopedia Britannica, Codice Roda, fol. 189 r, a: Ilii sunt duces Arabum qui regnaverunt in Spania, also in Esp. Sagr, XIII, 460, num 79, “El Códice Roda Recuperado” 1928, 9.

could not necessarily be identified by their given names. We have Anna, Teodegundia, and Maria, married to 'Abd al-Rahim, as well as Abdel, Alfarach, and Abuzahat, and the polyglots Leodericus Abdela, and Froritus Abderahamam. The gift described in the document effectively transferred at least a pocketful representative of this fused Andalusi culture to deep within Christian territories in Northwestern Iberia at Santiago de Compostella.

Despite these ambiguities reflected on above, names often are our only indicator of ethnic origins in most cases in charters of this era. Nonetheless, the data in fig. 2-1 show, out of # of charters, the considerable number of participants in acts of donation, sales, and disputes that have these clear markers of Arabic-speaking heritage. What we can garner by these bits of evidence before 1050 is that people with origins from the Arabic-speaking world and a cultural identity in part stemming from Al-Andalus were living near and interacting with people of Northern Iberia frequently enough to be mentioned in transactions documented by church and state scribes.

In Burgos, additional examples of how people of Arabic language background interacted with others in the community are found in the charters in the archives of the Cathedral. In an exchange of properties in 972 in Castella between Count Garsia and his wife, Countess Ava, on the one hand, and an abbot in Burgos, on the other, witnesses to the act included several people likely of Arabic-speaking origins. Two had a derivative of Saracen in their name, Armentero Saraceniz and Sarracino Belascoz, two had Arabic-derived names, Obeco Albacrez, and Gelca Abol Gamarez.[154] In a 978 donation to the monastery of San Clemente de Modubar of mills, vineyards, and land in the villa of Zahalanes, the very long list of witnesses included a priest named Ziprianus (a common Latin name but an Arabic-derived pronunciation), and Faraszon and

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[154] DCB doc. 4, also makes reference to *anupda.*

Salomon.[155] In the same year, Lupe Sarraciniz and a hermit, Lupi Sarracini, standing side by side with the highest powers of the area, were present among the many confirmers at an act of Count Garcia and Countess Ava (King Sancho and Queen Urraca were present).[156] In 1027, Sarracina Orusco witnessed the sale of three *kasatos* in the villa called Barbatiello made by Rapinata to Lady the Countess Urraca.[157] Later the same month, another sale to Countess Urraca was made in the presence of Zite Bita and Lord Abolblaite de Arcos.[158]

North of Burgos, at the Monastery of San Salvador de Oña, the first donation in their archive was a gift made in 1032 by the clericus, Martinus, and his brothers of a house, a *cenobium*, two *solars*, and vineyards.[159] This gift was made on the counsel of the good men, property owners, of the area, including a Gonzallo Sarracinez.[160] One of the *solar* is identified as that of Don Christiano, perhaps a *converso* but, at any rate, a name reflective of the mixed cultural environment even in areas in Christian control for 100 years, where using a name signifying your Christian faith seemed natural. Finally, the witnesses to this gift included a Lope Mahomet, a name reflecting a mixed Arabophone heritage, if not religious identity.[161]

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[155] DCB, doc. 8.

[156] DCB, doc. 9.

[157] DCB, doc.12.

[158] SZC doc. 1, Zite' (and the common variations, Citi,Ziti,Cidi) was a derivative of the Maghrebi *sidi*, meaning lord. While discerning Arabic names through Latin scribal practice is sometimes more art than science, names beginning with 'Abol' "Abu/o" or "Abd' likely are a transcription of Arabic.

[159] SSO, doc.1. This published document is a translation from 1568 in Castilian. It is rather long and has numerous illegible portions, making it hard to decipher, however, it begins with a long statement of Christian doctrine on the trinity and ends with a section regarding anyone (of these) not being Christian, having no shame, and persevering in their malice. In combination, these suggest a certain defensive posture resulting from perceived critiques and encroachment of other religions.

[160] SSO, doc.1, "Esta casavos damos yo, don Martin, el sobradicho, por el amor de Dios, en uno con mios hermanos sobredichos e con consejo do omnes buenos, herederos del logar: Gonzalo Sairracenez, etc."

[161] See Hitchcock, *Mozarabs,* p. 63, for other examples of Mohammeds in monastic donations.

In nearby Carrion de los Condes, the Monastery of San Zoilo's records contain similar indications of intercultural contact. While this area had been under the control of the kings of Leon for centuries, the mix of cultures is reflected again in the earliest document of the monastery. In 1047, Count Gomez, descendant of Didago Fernandiz, gave a monastery that he had built for the poor and pilgrims in the villa of Aconada to the Cluniac monastery of San Zoilo de Carrion. Among his witnesses was Citi Saraziniz, both his first and last names reflecting Arabic-language associations. An additional witness bore the name Cit.[162]

Further west, in the town of Oviedo, in the heart of the Asturia, in 994, in the archives of the Monastery of San Vicente, a witness to a sale by Leukadia is named Mutarraf.[163] Also in Oviedo, a few years later, Muza (Arabic form of Moses) and his wife, Atanagilda sold a terra in Villa Luco to Concordio and his wife Tructina, with Ziti acting as witness.[164] In 1028, property that had belonged to Zidi Suariquizi was transferred, as a gift of the Queen, to the monastery.[165] Also, two witnesses with the surname Sarraciniz witnessed a donation to the monastery in 1047.[166]

South of the city of Burgos, at San Pedro de Cardena, we find the most instances (130) of people of Arabic speaking origins. Of these, some are witnesses, some are participants in disputes, some are sellers, some are donors (apparently Christian), and some are merely neighbors of the donor or seller, mentioned to identify the boundaries of the property given.[167] Here are some examples. In 950 witnesses to a gift to Cardena by Falconius included Hacen Algiab, Muttarra, and Mondar. In 936 Hozen and his son, Donatus, sold a *vicis* (part?) of their

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162 Cit (and its variants Cid and Zid) was derived from the Arabic *sayed* or master.

163 SVO, doc. 25.

164 SVO, doc.26.

165 SVO, doc.30.

166 SVO, doc.42.

167 Hitchcock states that people's religious affiliations may have been ambiguous in rural areas, like Cardena, until a powerful instituion, like an abbey, was established nearby, providing motivation to align or identify with that institution. Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia,* 55.

mill to Cardena. Feles Sarraciniz, his wife, Elduara, and his sons, Roderico, known as Abolmondar, and Cristilo sold a vineyard to the monastery in 939. In a 965 exchange with the monastery, Nebzano's *terra* was bordered on one side by the *defesa* of Mutarraf, who also sold an *agro* and a *karrata* of firewood in *albaroc* (per Dozy, a gift added to the agreed price in Islamic sales agreements).[168] In 978 the priest, Sarrecenus, gave his *quinta* to the monastery, witnessed by another Saracenus. In 929 Gomiz and his wife Maria sold their vineyard to Zaid, a transaction that was witnessed by Abaiub, Abeca and Zuleiman among others.[169]

In another instance, in 932, leaders from the surrounding villages, from Castaniares to Burgos, came to the monastery of San Torqatus in order to settle a dispute over water diversion related to a mill owned by the monastery. They were listed as "Vincent and Munio, Garsea, Johannes, Vincenti, Abolmondar, Culeiman, Ziti, Rodrico, Gelga, Belliti, Comeso, Gudestio, Belasco, Annaya, Gundisalbo, and Abolmondar, presbiter."[170] This dispute was settled, not surprisingly, in the monastery's favor. The monastery's claim rested on a custom that bears a strong resemblance to Islamic practices pertaining to water rights, rather than on the basis of any Gothic law.[171] While the list of villagers included names of many origins, there were several with clearly Arabophone heritage: two Abolmondars, a Culeiman (an Arabic form of Solomon), and a Ziti.

Finally, in the frontier area of Clunia, a transaction with Arabophone participants also demonstrates the fluid circumstances that made intercultural interaction inevitable. After three castles were taken by Muslims, two property owners in Spelia, named Abolmodar Flahiniz and Abolmondar Obecuz had their property transferred to the Count, Garcia Fernandiz, and he, in

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168 R. Dozy, *Suppplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes,* Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1927, vol. I, 76, col.2.

169 BGC, docs.126; 123; 119; 127; 173; and 137.

170 BGC doc. 200. Witness doc. 126. Donor doc. 123, seller doc. 119 and 127, doc. 173 neighbor, buyer, doc. 137.

171 Roberto Matesanz Gascón, "La cultura Islamica del agua en la Cuenca del Duero. Notas para su estudio," in *Musulmanes y Cristianos frente al Agua en las Ciudades Medievales,* Santander, Espagne: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008, 127-153. This document in particular is discussed on 138-9.

turn, gave it to his *homo fidelis,* Tellu Barrakaniz.[172] The connection between this property transfer and the Muslims' conquests of the castles is not explicit in the document, but perhaps the initial property owners were less loyal, or at least more ambivalent towards Count Garcia Fenandiz than was Tellu Barrakaniz. All three of the participants, however, have names of Arabophone origins: Abolmodar, Abolmondar, and Barrakinez, the last fusion of the Arabic, Barraka and a Basque construction meaning 'son of.'[173] On such a frontier, where territory could move between Muslim and Christian control, religious and ethnic origins were perhaps less important criteria for being rewarded than were faithful and loyal service. At an rate, these Arabophones lived and interacted with the ruling Christian power.

So in the period before 1050, in addition to the intermarriages between the ruling families of Pamplona and Cordoba and between the Castilian kings and the Banu Qasi of the Ebro valley, the diplomatic engagement between Barcelonan counts and the court at Cordoba and ongoing alliances and tributary relationships between Taifa princes and Castilian kings and Barcelona counts, from at least the ninth century onwards a persistent presence of people with Arabic-language associations, Muslim, Jewish or Christian,. These people participated in day to day interactions with others in the northern Christian territories whose names had no Arabic assoications. They participated in sales and gifts, were supported by political leaders, given as laborers to religious institutions, received property, lost property, and witnessed property transfers. While chronicles from the tenth century make reference to conquered territories being depopulated by conquest, and so requiring repopulation, the evidence in charters suggests something different. If there was "ethnic cleansing," it was far from complete, and those Arabophones who remained or migrated to Christian areas were not *a priori* excluded from important social and political roles. For these Arabophones, their religion was rarely specified

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172 Juan José Larrea, *La Navarre du IVe au XIIe Siècle : Peuplement et société*, Paris, Bruxelles : De Boek et Larcier, 1998, p.333n123, "Abolmodar Flahiniz et Abolmondar Obecuz havuerunt in tere intemtjone per earum heriditates de Spelia, et fuerunt ad illo comite Garcia Fernandiz, et dedit eis suo homine fidele, per nomnato Tellu Barrakaniz, et partibit eis eorum hereditatibus."

173 Abol- Is most likely *Aboul* or *Abul,* and *Barrakinez* is derived from *barraka,* blessing.

but it is possible that some had remained part of the subject *dhimmi* population over generations of Muslim rule. Since the documents examined here (from published charters only) are far from a complete census of the population, the Arabophones in these charters probably represent only a fraction of the Arabic-speaking population. While we cannot reconstruct the religious affiliations of such people, or even make guesses about ethnicity, only the likelihood that they spoke Arabic or had access to Arabic culture, or an association with Arabic speaking territories is suggested by their name. Of course, they were likely also Latinate language speakers, often bearing names that represented a hybrid or ambivalent identity. In any case, in many instances, ethnicity in Iberia, given a long history of conquest from Roman times onward, is moot. More importantly, the conquering kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, like many rulers of frontiers and conquered territory, were more concerned about a manageable, loyal infrastructure of people and fortifications for governance and exploitation, than they were about the religious or ethnic identity of the inhabitants.[174]

The presence of these people, with their suggestive names, however, a certain amount of acculturation must have been present. Not only language but cultural borrowing from the Arabophone world would be an expected outcome, as indeed it was. According to Eero Neuvonen's analysis of *arabismos* introduced into Romance languages, the majority of Arabic-derived words found in documents written before 1050 were "accidental," which he theorizes were introduced by Mozarab or other Arab speaking scribes or actors. Others that appear more frequently, more broadly, and persist over time, he categorizes according to type. His categorizations shed some light on the perceived needs of the borrowing culture, and the perceived assets of the 'lending' culture.[175] In pre-1050 charter records from the same times and

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174 Juan Jose Larrea, *La Navarre du IVe au XIIe,* n.316.

175 Eero K. Neuvonen, *Los arabismos del español en el siglo XIII,* Helsinki: 1941, (*Studia Orientalia,* Vol. X), pp. 34-83 address words found before 1050. A discussion of the categorization is found on pp.82-83. While one could quibble with Neuvonen's categorization of some of these words (*alfoz* and *annubda* are at least partly military terms, for example, whereas Neuvonen categorizes them as institutions) they provide a useful organization of the absorbed vocabulary.

places as those with Arabophone presence, we find evidence of these borrowed institutions, a product of this contact and communication, including*, acenna/acenari, aldea, meschinus, anuduba, and alferiz.*[176]Indeed, of these non-accidental borrowed words from Andalusi Arabic to Latinate use suggesting acculturation, 29% were institutions, (administrative, social and otherwise), 13.2% concerned moneys or measures, what one might call economic instruments, another 13.2% were for agricultural terms, 21% concerned cloth and clothing, and 5.3% related to military offices and roles.

One of the most important Andalusian linguistic borrowings by northern Iberians was that concerning water technology. Derivatives of the Arabic word for water mill, *al-saniya,* appear in documents before the year 1000, primarily as a descriptor for a person, a mill worker or owner.[177] In 946, a presbiter named Lazurus along with his brothers, Acenari (the miller), Gomiz, and Fortunus gave a church owned by their family to the monastery of Cardeña.[178] In 980, another presbiter, named Nunu, gave three vineyards to Cardeña*,* one of them described as being next to the path to the *azenari* or mill.*[179]* The Latin term for mill, however, was also used in this period. In Arbidic's last will and testament, leaving everything he had (or may have) to the Monastery of Saint Julian and its abbess, Osicia, he included in that list of property his *molinos,* his mills*.[180]* At any rate, the use of this Arabic term for mill, and those who work on

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176 Pedro Chalmeta Gendon's *El "señor del zoco" en España: Edades Media y Moderna, contribución al estudio de la hisoria del mercado,* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973) traces Iberian economic institutions from Islamic roots as well.

177 The Arabic word *saniya,* means literally water scoop (*Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Arabic,* ed. J.M. Cowan, 1994), but it is the origin, presumably because of the scoops which drove the wheel around, of the medieval Iberian word for water mill, *acena* according to Dozy, Englehardt and P. Acala's fifteenth century work.

178 BGC, doc. 107. The word *azenaro* comes to mean miller eventually, and is found as both a first and a last name.

179 BGC, doc. 40, p.48, *" I Nunu presbiter makes an agreement for the place called Cardeña, henceforth all resources that I (Nunu) have, that is a vineas opposite the part of S- Mikailis up to the vinea of Nunu Galindiz on the other part via that runs in another direction from place to place; and another vinea at the edge of azenari and a third vinea……"*

180 FHC, doc. 113, p. 127-8, "ita iam supra nominate Arvidio decernimus deinceps ut omnia, que visa sum abere, omnia facultate mea, tam mobile quam etiam et inmovile, quod augmentari vel augmentare potuero in omni vita

one, confirms the diffusion of Arabic terminology into areas that had come under Christian control.

Meschinus/a also crosses the linguistic divide before 1050*,* although its institutional character before the mid-eleventh century is debated. The term arises from the Arabic, *miskin,* which means poor or humble.[181] Its adoption in Northern Iberia was associated with rural laborers in the form *meskinus* or *mezquinus* in Latin, or *meskino* in the vernacular. In a charter of donation to San Martin de Cerecito of the village of Acumuer in 943, *'serbi* et *meskini'* themselves were donated to the monastery along with the land they lived on. More ambiguous is their exact status, for the term *servus,* goes through a transformation of meaning in Europe during this period.[182] Regardless of this ambiguity, by the mid-tenth century the borrowed Arabic word was associated with agricultural laborers, whether free or not. While the language is imprecise and the institution may have evolved along the way, similar to the *ribāt, meschino* does fit a pattern of pre-1050 Arabic language and culture absorption within Christian realms.

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mea, terras, vineas, molinos, ortos, kasas, ubique potueritis de meo invenire, post obitum meum ad integritate bobis concedo…" While this may be a formulaic gift, that is, we don't know whether Arvidio actually had any mills or not, it still underlines the point that the selective use of Arabic for a mill had meaning, that is, it was not simply part of the language. The witness list to this testament shows that Arabophones were present in the area: "Vincenti testis;Juliano testis;Belasco testis; Ferruzo testis; Lazarus testis; *Abbaz* testis; *Abolezar rb; Autemani rb; Serbus Dei rb;* Lectoni presbiter rb.

181 Larrea, *La Navarre,* 399. While the word is related in the Arabic to *sakun,* to inhabit, and the related *maskun,* meaning dwelling, the accepted etymology is to the derived meaning of poor, in Arabic, *maskeen,* given that clearly one of the meanings of the word, as represented in a Castilian gloss on a Latin Bible passage, was poor. But, it may be that the Hispanic *mesquino* was a conflation of the two Arabic words, *maskun* and *miskin,* with a conflated definition, poor laborers associated with a particular type of rural dwelling, as Dozy gives a definition of *maskun* as "village, bourgade, habité par des étrangers," a definition he attributes to Pedro de Alcala, one of the earliest glossers of words derived from Arabic (*Vocabulista Aravigo en Letra* Castellana, Grenada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505).

182 Larrea, *La Navarre,* 315n. Larrea is arguing against the assumption that the use of the terms *serbi* and *meskini* imply an early adoption of feudal servitude in Navarre, since the phrase could refer to taxation on these two groups, not to two forms of servitude. Philippe Sénac takes an opposite point of view, arguing that this donation is evidence of serfdom with the paring of *meskini* and *serbi*. Larrea also argues, again contradicting Sénac, that the phrase regarding *meskini* was added after the confirmation by Sancho Garcia, possibly as late as the 2nd decade of the eleventh century, based on the phrase, "*postea confirmaverunt eam"* which precedes the mention of *meskini*. Larrea also cites the use of *meskini* in the late tenth century in the *Glossa Emilianorum* as meaning 'poor' as additional evidence that feudal serfdom cannot be associated with *meskinus* before the mid-eleventh century, but a concurrent association of one word with both poor and serf seems within the realm of possibilities.

According to Neuvonen's analysis, terms related to the military and rural governance were the predominant groups of borrowed words before 1050. A document dated 893 from San Juan de Labasa describes the *mezquini* of the monastery, who labor on the land.[183] While this reference is ambiguous concerning the institutional relationship between the laborers and the monastery, the use of *meschinus* to describe peasant-tenants of some kind in Arabic usage. These later references often carried a possessive pronoun, giving a clear sense of ownership by king, monastery, or count. Eventually, *meschinus* makes its way across the Pyrenees to French charters about Iberian properties or even as the first name or patronym of persons, perhaps of Iberian origins.

Simultaneous with *meschinus, anuduba* was another institution that appeared in the same areas and the same time period. The term, from the Arabic verb, *nadaba*, to call up troops, was used most often in conjunction with the Latin term *fossada (or fossadera or fossato),* probably best described as castle-maintenance.[184] In 1032 in Garitoáin and in 1033 in Adoáin, the *villas*' inhabitants were exempted from both *fossato* and *anubda.*[185] This combination of a Latin term with an Arabic one may reflect the scribe's desire for clarity about the institution, using synonomous terms in both languages, but it also may reflect a difference in meaning as a result of acculturation. That is, describing villagers' military obligations to the king or a local power required both a Latin term and an Arabic one, as the obligations had evolved to include *anuduba,* in addition to *fossato*. *Anuduba,* like *meschinus,* concerned the obligations of rural inhabitants. If we consider the two institutions' coincidence, it seems possible that the terms entered the Latinate vocabulary because they both described practices originated in some fashion in an Arabophone context and were absorbed and adapted either as Christian powers expanded into

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183 Larrea, *La Navarre,* 316, and SJP, doc. 7.

184 Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 588:2: *fossatum*- "dike-building duty," and *fossataria*-"a tax connected with military obligations." Variations of both words are used paired with *anuduba* and may describe some type of castle duty, including digging moats and fortifications.

185 Larrea, *La Navarre,* p.257-258, CNQ, doc. 578, SSL, doc. 24.

territories previously held by Muslims or as simply as the Christian lords replicated in their own territories , perhaps imperfectly, institutions observed in neighboring Muslim lands. In Clunia, an exemption from *anuduba* for the townspeople followed the capture of three castles by the Muslims, in which they had customarily performed their military duties.[186] In Najera in 1052, certain *meschini* of Santa Maria de Najera were declared immune from the military services of *fossadera, annutuba* and *castellera* (service in the castle), implying that others were obliged to provide these services. Thus, the proximity of Muslim territory, the instability of frontier boundaries, and the long associations of the rulers of Navarre and Castile with Muslim elites (see above) provided the contact, communication, and desire for absorption of Arabic language and perhaps institutions, which were integrated with existing language and institutions.[187]

Finally, a*lferiz,* a royal military office of standard bearer, was another institution borrowed during this period. People with the title *alferiz* appear in the entourages of Iberian kings and counts in the late tenth and early eleventh century. In 992, the witnesses to a gift Juliana made when joining San Torquati in Burgos, included Count Garsea Fredinandiz and Izani, "*Alfierez"* of the king, along with various church dignataries.[188] In another document related to the settlement of a dispute over water rights between the monastery of San Torquati and the surrounding communities of Burgos in 932, Count Fredinand Gundisalviz, attended the occasion with his *alferiz,* Gomiz Didaz.[189] While the nature of this office is not clear from these documents, it is clear that the word was derived from the Arabic *al-faris,* cavalry soldier, a fusion of an Islamic word and perhaps function with a royal office. Using the Arabic word, rather than a Castilian or Latin one, may have been meant to connote something fierce, or something

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186 Larrea, *La Navarre,* 133-34.

187 Ibid., 395, I. Rodríguez de Lama, *Collecíon Diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1992, doc.12, 1052.

188 BGC, doc.199.

189 BGC, doc. 200. "In presentia de illo comite de Fredinando Gundissalbiz et suo alfiereç Gomiz Didaz et de Nunu Fernandez et…" In this phrasing, only the alferiz is associated with the count directly, and the only one with a title other than the count.

powerful, or impressive, making it a desirable association for someone in the king's inner circle. Eventually, the title evolved to mean the standard bearer for the king.

An ambiguous and fluctuating frontier led to increasing contact between Arabophone and Latinate cultures, the two spheres we are examining in order to trace the path of cultural influence from Al-Andalus northward across the Pyrenees. Arabophone people were found in Christian territories, participating in gifts, sales, and disputes with political and religious leaders. At the same time, elements of Arabic culture made their way as well into Christian territories, as byproducts of cross-cultural contact and interaction. The examples discussed in this chapter represent the evidence present in the documents of practice involving literate and non-literate people. While the events in these documents has been filtered through the pen of the Latin-literate scribe, the absorption in this period of *meschinus, anuduba, acenari, alferiz,* reflects the cultural openness in Northern Iberian political institutions to cultural borrowing. In the next 100 years, the political fortunes of Southern and Northern Iberia would both shift dramatically, creating more territories with Arabophone populations under Christian control. The resulting increase in contact and the evolving nature of acculturation is explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: EXPANDING FRONTIER 1050-1150

In 1150, Alfonso VII made a gift to Saint James of Compostella of a *fanega (*an Arabic measure) of wheat from everyone with a team of oxen in all the *termini of* Toledo. While making this pious gift he was surrounded by the councils of Toledo, *alcaldes, alvizirs, adails, alferiz, alfaiat,* and a *zavalmedina,* all Arabic language titles and occupations. The people assembled included Peter ibn Desdel, Stephen Ibn Zulemia, Peter Maurus, Ciprian Ibamut, Stephar Abran, and Menindo Ibn Lanpan, all names which are Arabic in their construction, their language, or their description. These people represented the consuls of the *termini* of Toledo, but so did a *iudex,* a *presbiter,* and many others with no trace of Arabic in their names.[190] This mixed assemblage in Toledo, although exceptional, is also emblematic of the culturally heterogeneous environment of the Iberian frontier in the middle of the twelfth century.

In the second half of the eleventh century, the balance of power in the peninsula had shifted. Territorial consolidation and long reigns in the Christian north, combined with growing weakness and division in the Muslim south, created an opening for Christian expansion. Christian princes made multiple forays and significant encroachments on Muslim territory under Fernando *el Magno* of Leon-Castile, Alfonso VI of Castile, and, Ramiro Sanchez of Aragon and his two sons, Pedro and Alfonso the Battler. Once the al-Andalus was broken into relatively weaker *taifa* kingdoms, political powers in the Christian north were able to annex previously Muslim territory at an accelerated pace and also draw wealth, in the form of tribute or *paria,* from the *taifa* kingdoms, wealth that previously had been directed toward Cordoba. Assistance from North Africa in 1090 by the Almoravids was eventually able to reunify Al-Andalus and regain some of the lost territory, creating a sort of equilibrium, of sorts, for a short time.

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[190] CSC, doc.106, this document will be discussed in more detail later in chapter 4.

This change in fortunes was the result of inverse processes on either side of the cultural divide. In the Muslim territories, the disintegration and eventual fall of the Caliphate in 1032 spurred a decentralization of political authority creating the taifa (party) kingdoms. The habit of equal inheritance of sons caused competition and instability within these kingdoms, as it sometimes had done similarly in the Christian territories of Iberia. Around the middle of the century, however, marriage and circumstance created relatively more powerful, merged states in the Christian territories. Leon-Castile became one center of power, and Aragon-Navarre, with title to the Catalonian county of Barcelona, another. These merged states, with help from allies across the Pyrenees, were able to make gains in areas where Arabic language culture had been established for a much longer period, like the valuable Ebro valley.[191] Before the middle of the twelfth century Toledo, Huesca, Tudela, Rioja, and Tortosa came into the control of the Christians. All of these towns had significant Arabic-language inhabitants, with a surviving Arabic literate culture, as late as the fifteenth century.[192]

Politcal Transformations: from suzerain to dominion

The conquest of Toledo in 1085 was a watershed event in the history of the peninsula, encouraging Alfonso VI to style himself 'emperor of two religions,' in his correspondence with other Muslim rulers. The capture of Toledo, in another sense, however, was only one of many changes to the shape of the Christian Muslim frontier in the century between 1050 and 1150, as Christian dominance and offensives led to defensive responses from the southern *taifas* and their North African allies. Some of those gains were temporary, and still more were tenuous because of repeated assaults by Muslim forces. With the conquest of Toledo, Christian rulers were

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191 Brian Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished,* 92-94.

192 Kathryn A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of late Medieval Iberia,* New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, 20-26. Other works on mudejar communities, Mutgé I Vives, *L'Aljama Sarraïna de Lleida,* already cited above, Maria Teresa Ferrer I Mallol, *Els Sarraïns de la Corona Cataloniao Aragonesa en el Segle XIV,* Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Cientifiques, 1987 and Les Aljames Sarraïnes de la Govrnació d'Oriola en el Segle XIV, and M. Blanca Basañez Villaluenga, *La Aljama Sarracena de Huesca en el Siglo XIV,* all focus on the fourteenth century although not with the positive construction of the community that Miller does.

increasingly in the position of earlier Iberian conquerors, faced with how to effectively govern territory populated by another religion and culture.

The territorial acquisitions and tributary relationships with *taifa* states were fiercely contested between the Christian rulers for their intrinsic value and the prestige that they brought. By the second half of the eleventh century, the heirs of Fernando *el Magno* (1034-1065) were receiving significant payments, 10,000 gold coins or more in tribute, as suzerains of much of the peninsula.[193] Fernando of Leon-Castile bequeathed to his heirs the *parias* (tribute) of Badajoz, Sevilla, Toledo, and Zaragoza, (Zaragoza also being a protectorate against the encroachment of other Christian kingdoms) in 1054 and had added the towns of Lamego and Viseu (1055), Berlanga and San Esteban de Gomaz (1060), and Coimbra (1064) by the time of this death. These territories were divided amongst Fernando's sons. Alfonso VI (1065-1109) received Leon and the *parias* of Toledo. Sancho II (1065-1072) received Castile and the *parias* of Zaragoza. Garcia (1065-1090) received Galicia and the *parias* of Sevilla and Badajoz. Eventually, however, Alfonso VI emerged victorious over the others and, by 1072, controlled most of the Christian territory and the *parias* owed by Muslim rulers.

The events surrounding the conquest of Toledo provide a potent example of complex frontier relationships in this environment. The largest Muslim *taifas* after 1031, were essentially in *al thugur,* the Andalusian frontier, centered on the Islamic cities of Toledo, Badajoz, and Zaragoza. After its *qaid* (magistrate) was assassinated in Cordoba at the beginning of the *fitna* (unrest), Toledo was ruled by a governing council of notables, who chose a *vizir*.[194] The surrounding towns and countryside were under the control of the city and provided Toledo with critical economic and defensive support. In order to preserve and expand his extraction of tribute after 1065, Alfonso VI pursued a policy of both colonizing the countryside around Toledo and interfering in inter-*taifa* relationships. In the south, Al-Mu'tamid, ruler of Seville and a tribute

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193 Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla* under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109, 12.

194 Ibid., 168-176.

payer to Alfonso VI himself, was busy solidifying and expanding his control of Cordoba (1069), Huerte, and Murcia (1078), establishing a new Cordoba-based kingdom. Because of their own struggles at the time, neither Cordoba nor Fez were able to offer any assistance to the frontier *taifas*.

In his conflicts with neighboring realms and even with other Christian nobility Because of the area's importance as an asset, Alfonso VI allied himself with the ruler of the Toledo *taifa*, Al-Qadir,. When Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (*El Cid*) caused too much trouble by raiding in Toledo's territory in 1080, he was banished for endangering Alfonso VI's most lucrative vassal state. When disenchanted Toledans and their neighboring *taifa* of Badajoz threatened Al-Qadir with revolt while he was away at Cuenca, Alfonso VI interevened on Al-Qadir's behalf, thwarting the rebellion, reinstalling Al-Qadir, and receiving in exchange a strategic fortification at Zorita de los Canes.

Alfonso VI's alliance with Toledo went beyond collecting *parias* and intervening in the troubles of that city with others. He also spent time in Toledo, when he must have been observing and absorbing Arabophone and Islamic culture. Thus, during a nine-month sojourn in Toledo in 1072, during his alliance with Al-Qadir, Alfonso met Sisnando Davidiz, a Mozarab vizier from Coimbra with experience at the court of Seville, who had served Ibn 'Abbad for a time, before becoming *al-vizir* of Coimbra.[195] Alfonso VI, however, was continuing to acquire fortresses on major roads leading from Toledo to other *taifa* capitals, cutting off any potential for their assistance to Toledo. Having taken control by 1085 of the wealth of an expanded and united Leon-Castile, Alfonso was able to take Toledo, and in 1087, Tudela.[196]

An incident in the description of Toledo's fall in Ibn Bassam's *Dajirya* gives us a sense of how pre-conquest relations between Alfonso and *taifa* elites involved shared norms of

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195 R. Menéndez Pidal, "El Conde Mozárabe Sisnando Davídiz y la Polítical de Alfonso VI con los Taifas," and Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influence,* Burlington, VT, Ashgate Publishing, 2007, 77.

196 Reilly, *Alfonso VI,* 161-184.

behavior, involving back and forth exchanges of gifts, truces, and diplomacy, expectations that were broken by Alfonso, to the surprise of the Toledan Arabophones, Mozarab, Jewish and Muslim.[197] While the city was under siege, envoys from the other *taifas* paid a visit to Alfonso bearing gifts of appeasement which Alfonso reportedly spurned, the first breaking of norms. At the same time, a representative of the council of Toledo described as a "a renegade from Seville' (perhaps Sisnando himself), sought a truce with Alfonso to allow the city to receive supplies from the south. Upon seeing the rejected gifts and the dejected envoys, the representative returned to Toledo and the city surrendered within three days.[198] The expectation that gifts would forestall the crisis, and that a truce could be achieved in order to supply the city, shows how warfare, while serious business, was also expected to conform to diplomatic niceties in the equilibrium that had been established. Alfonso's refusal to abide by the old rules at this time and the subsequent fall of the city, were a harbinger of the political realignment that would soon take place.

Another story told by Ibn Bassam about Toledo's fall further demonstrates this political realignment or the peninsula. Ibn Bassam's description of the take over of the congregational mosque of Toledo, the *masjid al-juma*, by Alfonso shortly after conquest makes it appear as a surprising departure from expectations. When Alfonso's 'thugs' were on their way to the mosque only the master ('sayi wa ustad') al-Magami, remained waiting to wish the place good-bye. A follower was reading with al-Magami when the Christians arrived and told them to hurry. Master instructed the student to continue and "while the Christians thugs looked on with reverence and respect, with neither haste nor fear, the master arose, made his prostrations and devotions, and cried and sobbed for a long time." While this story is perhaps entirely fictitious, it does contrast Alfonso VI's behavior in taking over the mosque with the thugs, and the frontier inhabitants'

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[197] While Ibn Bassam's account is likely fabricated, it provides a perception of what was expected in situations of conquest in the late eleventh century. For an example of similar expectations, similarly not met in the thirteenth century, see Robert Burns and Paul Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror,* Leiden: Brill, 1999.

[198] Menénedez Pidal, "El Conde Sisnando."

expectations, as the thugs were more respectful of the departing Muslims than was Alfonso. The story of the desecration of the mosque became a story of cultural superiority and betrayal for the faithful Muslims.[199]Not surprisingly, the actions of Alfonso alarmed Muslim elites so much that some sought military assistance in the peninsula from the Almoravid leader, Yusuf ben Tasufin. Alfonso's actions, moreover, served to delegitimize the *taifa* kings who had allied with, negotiated with, and in some ways gained personal advantage from, Christian hegemony. In the story above, Alfonso's thugs' desecration of the mosque stood in sharp ideological contrast with the *ullama*, the faithful, creating a strong morality tale.

In reality, though, Alfonso's actions after the Toledo conquest were much more ambiguous and complicated. According to Latin chronicles, the conversion of the central mosque into a cathedral was the fault of the French cleric, Bernard of Sedirac, or Alfonso's French wife, Constance of Burgundy.[200] Regardless, there was precedent in the peninsula for such conversions of religious sites after the Muslim conquests of the seventh century and elsewhere. It would have been surprising, in the long term at least, to leave such a potent symbol of a rival faith at such a prominent location in the city--atop a hill in the center of the *medina*--despite the terms of surrender. But Alfonso's initial treaty terms and the extension of *fueros* to the Mozarab population show that he was interested in maintaining the Arabophone population in Toledo and the surrounding area, even Muslims.

While most agree that a portion of the Muslim population fled the city as a result of the conquest, a substantial number remained along with many Arabized Jews and Christians. It is difficult to distinguish between these three groups in Toledo's charters, as difficult as it may have been in real life. All three spoke Arabic, used Arabic or Hebrew or Romance names, and likely dressed and ate similarly. In the Arabic charters from Toledo, only a handful of people are explicitly identified as Muslim, but Angel Gonzalez has found evidence that Muslims lived

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199 The Latin stories of this mosque conversion are discussed in Chapter Five.

200 For a broader discussion of mosque to church conversions in Iberian conquest see, Julie A. Harris, "Mosque to Church Conversion in the Spanish Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters,* 3, 1997, 158-172.

amongst the Christians, had one of their mosques in the French neighborhood, and were mostly free, with their labor highly valued.[201] In the *Carta Mustarabum* of 1101, Alfonso codified the Mozarabs rights to property in the city, their rights to exemption from the Roman rite in certain churches, their right to exemption from the *portzago* tax, and their right to self-governance under their own courts and leaders.[202] Later *fueros* would confirm these rights and, as late as the seventeenth century, Mozarabs argued for their rights based on these documents. The position of these Arabized Christians has been described by some as 'favored' but since the rights were extended to other groups in the city, as well, such as the Castilians and French, by the *fuero general*, it is more likely the *Carta Mustarabum* was a way to stabilize and reassure the Arabized population that their rights would be protected under Castilian rule. In a time when Andalusian forces were eager to retake the city, the loyalty of inhabitants mattered more than their language or religious practice.[203] This practicality seems a more likely explanation for the *fuero* rights than a particular favoring of an Arabized population over others. Still, Alfonso went out of his way to make the city welcoming to its Arabized population, referring in numerous charters to people there or who would be coming, whether Christian, Jew or Saracen.[204] Alfonso's success is reflected in his and his heirs' success in maintaining control of the city and its surrounding territory despite attempts from the south to retake it, and in the thousands of Arabic language documents produced in the city of Toledo for hundreds of years after the conquest.[205]

With the rise of the Almoravids in the south, the southern *taifas* were gradually reunited into and under one political entity, which first set about to take control of the remaining Muslim *taifas*, before turning its attention to territories lost to Castile and Aragon. This Maghrebi assault,

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201 Angel González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII,* vol. I, Madrid: 1926-8.

202 Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influence*, 76-97

203 Hitchcock discusses this in the context of the *Carta Mustarabum* in chapter 7, theorizing that one reason for the favorable treatment of Mozarabs was i.n reward for support during Alfonso's takeover of the city, 78-80, and that because the city was beset by outside forces, 85.

204 Ibid., 87-89.

205 González Palencia, *Los Mozarabes de Toledo,* has over 1000 transcribed Arabic documents.

as most such conflicts, created refugees and movements of people, as territory was taken from *taifa* king control by the Almoravids. Some people fled to other parts of the peninsula, others were banished from the peninsula by the new rulers. While the majority who fled to the north were non-Muslim, the story of Zaida demonstrates that the situation was more complex and varied. Zaida was the wife of the son of the King of Seville, al-Mu'tamid, Alfonso's erstwhile vassal and sometime ally. Her husband was governor of Cordoba and died in 1091 when the Almoravids attacked and besieged that city. Through both Arabic and Latin sources we know that the widow, "the Princess" Zaida, fled to the protection of Alfonso VI of Castile sometime afterwards. According to Levi-Provencal's reading of the Arabic and Latin sources, very shortly afterwards, Zaida converted to Christianity, then became the concubine or wife of Alfonso, depending on how those terms are defined, bore him his only son, Sancho, who was his designated heir, and was buried with the royal family at Sahagun, under her Christian name Isabel, in 1093. [206][207] This example demonstrates how simple binaries are insufficient to explain interactions within Iberia. Zaida, a Muslim, saw in Alfonso VI, her husband's ally in a time of stress, the ruler of Toledo, an important Iberian city, as someone worthy of her station. To someone of her class the difference in religion and any difficulties with language were easily dispensed with.

When Alfonso VI took direct control of Toledo it transformed the politics of the peninsula and opened more sites for interaction and acculturation between al-Andalus and the Christian territories. Migration to northern territories was likely accelerated, pushed by the disruption of Morracan conquest, as well as pulled by the opportunities, rights and exemptions offered in Arabophone communities in former Muslim cities like Toledo, Zaragoza, Tudela, and

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[206] Levi-Provencal, "La mora Zaida, Femme d'Alphonse VI de Castille et leur Fils l'Infant D. Sancho," *Hesperis,* 18, 1934,1-8.

[207] Levi-Provencal, "La Mora Zaida," although Alfonso may have been still married to his wife, Constance, who died in 1092. Just as the story of Alfonso's betrayal of Muslims in Toledo was used by Ibn Zaldun as a cautionary tale about the dangers of Christian rule, and the story of Zaida's conversion was also used as a cautionary tale of the dangers of living amongst Christians.

Huesca. Moreover, the boundaries between Christian and Muslim or Latinate and Arabic continued to shift. New conquests by Leonese, Castilian, and Aragonese kings and queen (Urraca taking control of Alfonso's throne for a time), were matched by some Almoravid reconquests of previously Muslim territory. These movements of people created more opportunities for acculturation between the Arabophone south and Latinate north.

The story of Count Sisnando Davidiz demonstrates the movement of people across the changing boundaries. Sisnando was a *vizier* who had served in the court of King Ibn 'Abbad (father of al-Mu'tadid) of Seville, serving as an ambassador to Fernando el Magno of Castile-Leion under Ibn 'Abbad's son, when the political climate became risky Sisnando left Seville for Christian territory, "learning the secrets of its politics and government," according to Ibn Bassam's none-too-flattering description of him.[208][209]Sisnando, who allegedly encouraged Fernando to attack his hometown of Coimbra, was one of the figures who was able to float between the Arabophone world and the Latinate world during the period of the *taifas.* Sisnando is found in Alfonso VI's entourage on several occasions, and is one of only two signatories to a dispute settlement with the Bishop of Oviedo in 1075, the other being *El Cid*, Rodrigo. He acted as an ambassador to Zaragoza and convinced the bishop of Zaragoza, Paterno, to accept the bishopric of Coimbra. He joined Alfonso in 1087 on his campaign against the Almoravid invaders. His daughter married a knight in *El Cid's* entourage, and his son-in-law succeeded him as Count of Coimbra in 1091.[210]

Sisnando's role in the taking of Toledo, as described by Arab chroniclers and Latin sources, made him the initial ruler of the city on Alfonso VI of Castile's behalf. Despite Alfonso's conquest, Sisnando appears to have expected a continuation of the system of tribute and autonomy for the inhabitants of the city and he attempted to maintain the status quo. His

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[208]Menéndez Pidal, "El Conde Sisnando."

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid.

warning that unless the population was protected by Alfonso they would seek intervention from others and his recommendation of a member of a leading family of Toledo to be governor (‘amil) were rejected by Alfonso VI. Alfonso's disregard of Sisnando’s warnings and advice being eventually led Sisnando to remove himself from Toledo’s politics and return to his native Coimbra.

The Aragonese conquest of Huesca in 1094 was another pivotal moment in the acculturation of the twelfth century. When at the end of the eleventh century, as the Almoravids from North Africa added territory in Iberia to their North African empire, the *taifa* kingdoms and the tribute they had generated for Christian rulers, came to an end. The loss of *parias* intensified the need for Christian leaders to expand into new territory for the only way to offset the *paria* income lost was to take the client states under direct control. Beginning with temporary incursions into the Ebro valley, the Aragonese kings, in particular, Sancho Ramírez of Aragon (1063-1094) and his sons, Pedro I (1094-1104) and Alfonso I (1104-1134), were able to capture and hold valuable territories like Huesca, Barbastro, Zaragoza, and Belchite, which provided new sources of revenue..

Pedro I of Aragon, or Pedro Sanche, the son of Sancho Ramirez and Beatrice of Urgel, soon styled himself with of king of Pamplona and Aragon, and (sometimes) Ripacorsa, as well as count of Barcelona and ruler of various cities like Huesca and Monzón, as he brought them under his rule.[211] His father, Sancho Ramirez, along with Guy-Geoffrey, Duke William VIII of Aquitaine, together besieged and sacked Barbastro (which included taking a large number of captives as slaves). Pedro was the one who always signed his name in Arabic on official documents, reflecting the bilinguality embraced by Iberian courts. Pedro brought Huesca and the surrounding territory under his control by 1096 and in 1101recaptured the city of Barbastro permanently.[212]

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211 CDP, docs.187-188.

212 Catlos, *Victors and Vanquished,* 93.

After Pedro's death in battle in 1104, his brother, Alfonso I, the Battler, took the throne of Aragon and brought even more urban territory into Aragonese control, including Tudela and Zaragoza. An uneasy union of Aragon and Leon-Castile was created by the marriage between Alfonso I of Aragon and Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile and Constance of Burgundy, her second marriage. The marriage resulted in conflict over territory between the two monarchs, with some lords taking sides between those loyal to the heir to Castile, Alfonso VII, Urraca's son with her first husband, an Urraca as ruler in her own right. Alfonso VII of Castile succeeded her in 1127, reasserting the Leon-Castilian dominance of the north. He successfully pushed the Castilian frontier outward yet again. In 1147 the *taifas* of Valencia and Murcia signed treaties with Alfonso VII, after the Muslim territories experienced another *fitna* with the centralized rule again giving way to smaller *taifas*.

With these conquests of territory, the northern kingdoms became larger and dramatically more urban, absorbing cities that had been founded by Muslims, like Tudela, and other cities, like Toledo, Huesca, Zaragoza, and for a time, Valencia that had been Muslim for hundreds of years..[213] In these urban centers, contact across cultures became more intimate, creating an accelerated pace of acculturation.

Charters: 1050-1150

Let us turn again to charters to assess the degree of interaction and its effects. According to Neuvonen, the period between 1050 and the beginning of the thirteenth century witnessed the largest number of borrowed words entering the Castilian language.[214] In this period the type of borrowed words broadened as well, reflecting the increased contact between the two cultures and the changing circumstances and needs of the Christian kingdoms. In the charters of this period, the acculturation is again evident in increasing references to Arabic people, institutions and, infrastructure.

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[213] Barbastro was recaptured by Pedro I in 1104.

[214] Neuvonen, "Los Arabismos del Espanol," 30.

People

The most intriguing evidence in the charters of the period 1050 to 1150 is the people who, through their name or some other descriptor, can be identified as coming from an Arabic-speaking background, or an association with Andalusi culture, using the same critieria as in the previous chapter. Their participation in the charters shows continuing and intensifying interaction across the language divide. As before, we cannot tell if these people spoke only Arabic or also spoke a Romance dialect. Often we cannot tell their religious identity. We cannot often determine how long they had lived in the area. But we can see that contact and communication between Arabophone and Latinate peoples occurred over a very long period of time, a testament to the persisting presence of people from Arabic-speaking heritage, and the ability to cross the geographical language divide, in areas where Latinate Christians lived.[215]

Figure 3-1: Occurrence of people of Arabic speaking origin 1051-1150

Province	**# with 1st name descriptor**	**# with 2nd name descriptor**	**# with Arabic name or structure**	**# identified in text as Arabophone**	**Total**
Burgos	2	4	34	0	**40**
Huesca	0	1	16	2	**19**
Palencia	1	2	20	1	**24**
Salamanca	0	0	0	1	**1**
Toledo	0	2	119	33	**154**
Unknown	1	0	1	0	**2**
Total	**4**	**9**	**190**	**37**	**240**

To the category of people identified in texts as Arabic speaking outlined in the previous chapter we can now add the category of those who appear in documents written in Arabic language and

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[215] The data are taken from documents in *Documentos Árabes del Catedral de Huesca* (ACH), *Documentos Municipal de Huesca* (DMH), *Colección Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra* (CDP), *Documentacion de la cathedral de Burgos (804-1183)* (DCB), *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los Siglos XII y XIII* (LMT), *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Juan de Burgos* (SJB), *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (1032-1284)* (SSO), *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1047-1300)* (SZC), and *La Reina Urraca (1109-1126)*: *Cancillería y Colección Diplomatica* (UCC). The complete data is included in Appendix 3.

script. Some of these documents survive only in Arabic, some have an Arabic portion and a Latin portion, not always a direct translation of each other. The participants in these Arabic language documents, unless they can be specifically identified as non-Arabophone, have been included in the number identified as Arabophone in table 3-1 above.

In several of these Arabic documents people are identified as either Jewish or Muslim. Thus, in a sale from 1083, before the capture of the city of Toledo by Alfonso the VI, a Rebi Buisehaq bn Nahamish al Yehudi purchased half of a vineyard from Jemila, daughter of Faraj, wife of al-Beliushi, the bricklayer. The property was next to the vineyard of Ibn Feranjil. The sale was approved by Jemila's son, Ali ben al-Beliushi and he declared that he retained no rights to the property. While Rebi Buasehaq is identified as the Jew, none of the other participants, including a list of at least eight witnesses are identified by religion. Their names are mostly of Arabic origins, listing their father, grandfather, and sometimes great-grandfather's name or a *nisba* or descriptor.[216] In most of these sales of land, the neighboring properties or landmarks to the east, west, south, and north, usually in that order, were listed as part of the property description, whether it was an urban house or an orchard or a vineyard or some other types of agricultural property. In a transaction in 1112, three vineyards were sold by Yusef ibn Yaish al Yehudi to Martin the Archdeacon (al Arjdiqan). Yusef's neighbors were Pedro the Butcher (Pedro al-Jazar) and Shalut, neither of whose religion is identified. The six witnesses' names were mostly Arabic or Hebrew names, but one, Yaqub al Barceloni, was from Catalonia, perhaps another Jew.[217]

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[216] LMT, doc.1

[217] LMT, doc.6

In another sale in 1112, the sellers of a garden (*al-munia*) are Sufian ibn AbuBaqi (الباقى ابى بن سفيان) and Mofaraj ibn Kheir of the *manzel* Mushka (Inn or house). With Sufian (a Persian province and Muslim name) as a first name at least one of the sellers appears to be Muslim. The neighboring holdings were the vineyard of Abu Isahq al-Qamrati and the priest Ibn Farhun, the land of Yahya ibn Serir, and the lands of the pious [monks or nuns] of Saint Felix. If Abu Ishaq, is the same person as Rebi [A]bu- Ishaq described as al-Yehuda in another document, we have a Muslim, a Jew, a priest, and a monastery with neighboring properties near Toledo.[218] These Toledan neighborhoods are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The study of charters from France shows that conflicts between neighbors over water, passage rights, boundaries and the like were frequent. While the legal framework of al-Andalus and Castile may have reduced the litigation generated by these types of conflicts, they surely occurred and brought diverse ideas of community, division of resources, agricultural practices, irrigation technology into dialogue. In 1147, Shashaza, wife of Pedro Iniqez, and Dona Shezilia, wife of the deceased Qaid Miqal Mitis, settled a long-running dispute over an orchard and agricultural land. In settlement, Dona Shezilia accepted from Shashaza two measures of fallow land in exchange for the orchard planted by ibn al-Farakh and Ibn Aradot al-Yehudin (two Jews). The property ceded by Shashaza is described by its boundaries with two roads, the land of Miqal Mitis and the vineyard of Ibn al-Bashekh. The orchard of the two Jews is not described by boundaries but was most likely nearby.[219]

From the names of participants we can sometimes tell their occupation or their origins through the use of the Arabic *nisba* adjectival construction. In the Toledo documents

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[218] LMT, doc. 8, Given the space of 30 years and the uncertainty of the exact location of the properties, it is not for certain they are the same person. But the nearly identical names makes it a distinct possibility.

[219] LMT, doc. 970, 1147, agreement-sale.

participants in these Arabic language documents come from Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, and even Toulouse. In a sale of three vineyards to Martin the Archdeacon by Jusef ibn Yaish al Yahudi in 1110, one of the witnesses was Yaqub al-Barceloni.[220] In 1119-20, Duana Balencia (Valencia) and her husband, Pelayo Petres sold a vineyard to Pedro Munios and his wife Shemana Rodriqes. Their neighbors on the south and east were both identified as Jewish. [221] From 1094-1099, Valencia was briefly controlled by El Cid and his wife, Dona Ximena, , but was mainly in Muslim Arabophone control from 714 to 1238. Duana Balencia's name is not structured as a *nisba*, Balenci, but rather more like the naming structures used north of the Pyrenees. This could indicate her association with the city came about during the brief period of Christian, romance-speaking control, but it is unclear. Regardless of the length of her family's association with Valencia, she is testament to the ability of people to move between Arabophone areas and Christian controlled ones. As her participation in an Arabic language document in 1119 indicates, the opportunities for acculturation remained. In 1147, Miqail ibn Sid Sebil (Seville) and Boalar ibn Miqail ibn Sebil were both witnesses to the sale of a planted vineyard by Albonia bint Abu Yahya to Dominqo ibn 'Abd al-Aziz.[222]

In the same Toledo communities, beginning in the reign of Alfonso VII, were people who appear to be French. People described as *farangi* (Franks) or who have a French town as an identifier, or have what appear to be transliterations of the patronym construction, de with the name of a castle, city or area, have a high probability of being from France or another European

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220 LMT, doc. 6, 1110.

221 LMT, doc.11, 1119-20.

222 LMT, doc.35, 1147, Ibn Sid Sebil.

city.[223] The earliest reference to *al-farangi* in the Toledan Arabic documents is from 1134 when Balduin Qaliar (most likely French or French heritage) and his wife, Munina, bought an inn in the "suburb of the Franks" near the cathedral in Toledo. The characterization of this neighborhood as 'suburb of the Franks' indicates that he was not alone, and that Franks had been there long enough to establish themselves. Indeed, among the witnesses to his purchase were Huber al-Faranji, Herbert Belenk, Bamin al-Faranji, and Ghitard Toledo.[224] A second transaction the same year involved more people with French origins. Don Bedal d Talusha (the 'د' is a transliteration of the 'de' of French and Latin, it seems, having no Arabic meanin on its own) purchased land from Qolonba bint Zakaria al-Sabaq (the dyer) and Hosa, the wife of Yahya ibn Omar ibn Arqam. [225] While the reference 'Talusha' is not absolutely geographically clear, it may be Toulouse, which given the Toulousan participation in the conquest of Toledo, and the existence of the French suburb, that this is then a transliteration of Toulouse, particularly given the transliterated, not translated, '*d[e]*'. References to Iberian geography, by contrast, were generally (but not always) translated into Arabic, as in *al-Barceloni* referenced above,. The witnesses to this sale as well as to the previous one included several who signed in Latin rather than Arabic, although the majority signed in Arabic.[226] Some of their signatures used an Arabic structure with Latin letters: Mikael iben Geli (LMT 20) and Mikael iben Martin (LMT 21). Again in 1134, Don Vital d Tolusha bought a vineyard, this time directly from Yahya ibn

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223 *Farangi* became the word for foreigner in both Arabic and Farsi. The word, however, seems to have been used fairly indiscriminately for anyone who wasn't Greek (*Rumi*) and was from Europe. See examples in *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* of Italians, Germans and English referred to as Franks or *ferangi,* 466-470.

224 LMT, doc.20, 1134.

225 LMT, doc. 21, 1134, The lack of a p in Arabic and the Spanish tendency to blur the difference between the pronunciation of v and b, makes the Arabic b a very over worked letter. In this instance, it is mostly likely the Romance Vital/Vidal represented by the first name in Arabic letters بدال

226 In LMT, doc.20, Mikael iben Geli, and in LMT 21, Mikael iben Martin, and Joan Petriz, testis.

Arqam, again located in Lurita in the ‘aml (jurisdiction) of Toledo. The witnesses were listed almost entirely in Arabic, this time, with only two in Latin.

We also see evidence in the Arabic documents of complex identities. Martin Salema’s mother was noted as *haja*, a title usually reserved for people who made the great pilgrimage to Mecca. Martin may be a convert to Christianity but he might as easily be a Muslim whose name reflected the choices available in the polyglot, hybrid culture of twelfth centuy Toledo. While some Muslims and Jews were identified as such in these Arabic language documents, it was not universally the case. The Qaid Mora, Don Minua Adfanesh was not designated as a Muslim when he witnessed a sale in 1134, while the Amin of the potterers was described as *al-muslim* in a sale of 1135.[227]

In addition to the transliteration of words and phrases from one script to another, we can also trace acculturation in the evolution of names. Arabic naming structures often included several generations of patrilineage. People were identified as the son or daughter of someone, usually their father, occasionally as father of someone or mother of someone. Over the period from 1083 to 1150, the dominance of Arabic names begins to lessen. By 1149, when the nun, Dona Euiania and her sister Kristina sold their *aldea* Almo’aluma, none of the participants had purely Arabic names.[228] By contrast, when ‘Obaid b. Asad bought a vineyard (*karam*) from Khalef b. ‘Abd Allah in 1092, seven years after Toledo’s capture, all of the participant’s names were entirely Arabic, except for three: Juan ibn Khalef, Salem ibn Zakaria and ‘Abd alRahman ibn Zakaria. The last two were possibly brothers, sons of Zakaria, but both with Arabic names

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[227] LMT, doc. 20, “Don Minua Adfanesh Qaida Mora,” (add Arabic) and LMT 35, “bordered on the west by the house of Ibn Torino al-Muslim, Amin of the the potterers.” (add Arabic).

[228] LMT, doc.38, 1149.

first names.[229] By 1134, many participants had non-Arabic names, while their fathers' names, and grandfather's showed a genealogy of Arabic names. Arabic names did not go entirely out of vogue, however, as many with non-Arabic father's names, themselves had Arabic names.[230]

In the chart below, several families from Toledo with names reflecting a hybrid identity are shown. In some families, the children were given both Arabic and Romance language names. For example, in an 1119 document, 'Abdel Aziz had three children, named Domingo, Duana, and Ali. Similarly, in the family of Miqail ibn Baqi, who appeared in a document from 1135, the children were named Iulian, Shanje, Pedro, and Hossein.[231] These names may be a product of marriages between people of different ethnic backgrounds or they may have come with different mothers. Whatever the circumstances, these hybrid families demonstrate the increase in cross-cultural interaction in Toledo after 1086.

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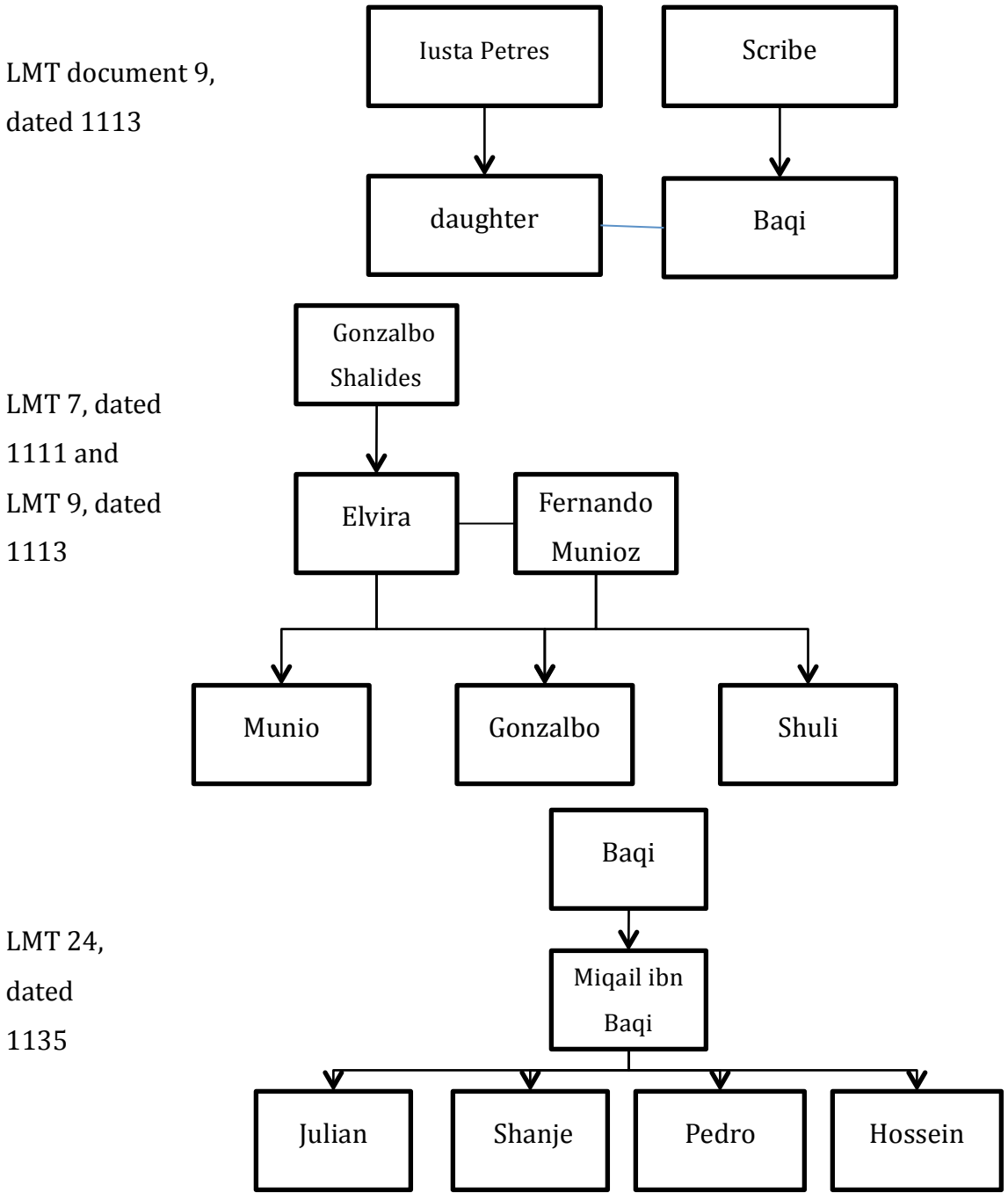
[229] LMT, doc. 2, 1092.

[230] LMT 8 1112, Salem b. Miqail, LMT 18,1132, Yahya b. Martin, LMT 23, 1135, Amir b. Temam, LMT 24, 1135, Dominqo b. Yahya b. Martin, and Hosein b. Miqail b. Baqi. (Not sure what this list is for, delete if no longer relevant: LMT7, 8, 9 10, 12, 14, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 967 969, 970, 971, 1105, 1012)

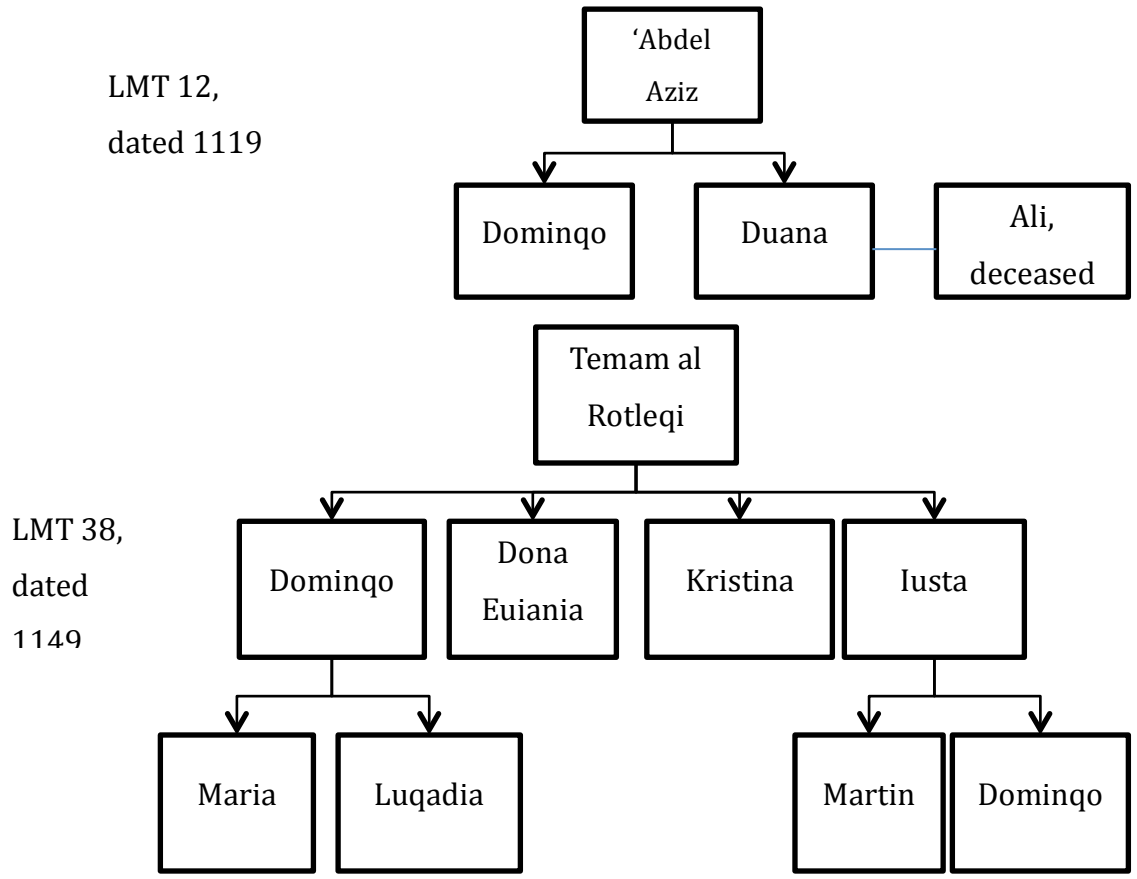
[231] LMT, doc.24, 1135, .حسين ويليان وشانجه وبيدره بنى ميقايال ابن بقى

"Hosein, and Iulian, and Shanjo (Sancho), and Bedro (Pedro) sons of Miqaial ibn Baqi."

Figure 3-2: Toledo families showing intercultural naming practices 1080-1150



(Figure 3-2: continued)



A last will and testament from Toledo shows how cross-cultural contact normalized cultural borrowing of phrases as well as names and notarial procedures. In Toledo in 1125, Mair Abdelaziz b. Sohail wrote his last will and testament, in Arabic. He appointed as his *albaceas* (executors), the priest Mair Qoroshtobal of Saint Martin, Yahya 'Abd alkarim, and Sanje. Mair Abdelaziz began his testament with a familiar phrase : "*bismillah alrahman alrahim*," "in the name of God, the compassionate and merciful," the beginning phrase of most *suras* of the Qur'an and a common opening to Muslim official documents. This invocation was followed by a testament of faith, highlighting the tenets of Roman Catholicism--believing in the Father, in the

Son and in the Holy Spirit, a single God; in the *Simbolo* (cross?), which is the law of the faith, the four Evangelists, and in the Apostles' creed and the Holy Fathers.[232] His testament is given before Toledo notables, including *al-vazir* and *al-qadi* Abul Asbagh b. Lanbetar and the Occitan Archbishop, Don Raymond. It was witnessed by signers in both Arabic and Latin. Among them, was the following Latin signature as follows in Latin: "*Petro Bellidiz, testis, hua cutiba hanno*," combining the Latin *testis,* or witness, with the Arabic, *hua cutiba hanno,* and wrote this (the signature). Both the borrowed phrase at the beginning of the body of the will and the transliterated Arabic in the witness signature demonstrate the effects of interaction and acculturation.

Although language might sometimes be a barrier to cross-cultural contact, in twelfth-century Toledo traversing the language divide was a matter of daily life. When a property owner sought return of his property in 1114, the legal proceedings required his involvement in three actions with three different authorities in two languages. Testimony concerning the two houses in the barrio of the Cathedral of Saint Mary in Toledo, was recorded in three documents dated in the years 1114 and 1115. In October of 1114, testimony by Yaques Gomez, *sahib* of *Hisna Mora,* asking *al-Vazir Sahib al-mohina* Juan Rodmires for the return of two houses that had been taken earlier by Miqel, was recorded in Arabic. Subsequently, a letter in Latin from Archbishop Raymond was sent to the *vazir*, Juan Rodmires, concerning the same houses and supporting Yaques' cause. Finally, there was a proceeding before a *majlis* representing the *al-vizir* in 1115, conducted again in Arabic, in which the matter was settled.[233] In such circumstances, languages served to bind people of diverse backgrounds together and this example demonstrates how

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[232]LMT, doc.1012, 1125, *Simbolo* الشنبله

[233] LMT, doc.940, 1114-5.

beneficial it was for anyone, regardless of background, to be multilingual in twelfth century Toledo. Iaques Gomez' name suggests he may have been an immigrant to the area. Yet he was able to use Arabic to plead before the authority, *al-vazir,* use Latin via the French Arbishop Raymond to further help his cause, although probably approaching the bishop's agents in a Romance tongue, and finally to use Arabic again as the case was determined by the *majlis.* Navigating the authorities of Toledo required using the appropriate language for the context. In essence, using situation appropriate languages served to bind Temam to the *vizier,* the Archbishop, and the *majlis,* making him a legitmate participant in each sphere. Similar to Anzaldúa's North American borderlands, languages provide entry to different figurative homes.[234]

Surviving Arabic documents in Huesca from this period are less numerous than Toledo, Among those published, only one is dated before 1150. This document, records the terms of a loan for Yusuf ibn Mufarriy al-Manyud. Similar to Mair Temam b. Soheil's testament described above, the document opens with the Muslim phrase, "In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate," and is witnessed by several people whose names seem to indicate they are Muslim: 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al Malik al Nahwi, Muhammad ibn jalaf ibn Faray al-Tuyibi an Isa Ibn "abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad al 'Umawi. The use of Arabic by Muslims in Huesca is not surprising but later documents from the city, from the second half of the twelfth century to the fourteenth century, show that Arabic continued to be used by both Jews and Christians as well, as in Toledo.

In Latin documents from Toledo, we have additional examples of such interactions. The witnesses assembled for Alfonso VII of Castile's transfer of the tithes from places near Toledo to

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234 Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera,* 77-78, discusses the various languages available to her and the different sense of belonging derived from each of their use.

the church of Santiago in Compostella on April 9, 1150, highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, were impressive by their numbers. Among the witnesses to Alfonso's gift were representatives of the councils of the communities of Talavera, Santa Eulalia, Maqueda, and Calatalifa.[235] Alfonso promised to Santiago one *fanegas* (an Arabic measure) of wheat for every team of oxen in all the *termini* of Toledo every year. The list of confirmers, arranged by community, contained numerous people whose names indicated an Arabic-speaking background. The document recording Alfonso's act is an unusual one, in its format and terminology, perhaps because of the participants. It has six groupings of participants, the first was Alfonso himself, the second comprised Alfonso's son Sancio and the Archbishop of Toledo, Raimund, and several canons and other church officials, followed by thirty four other 'confirmers' of the act. The other four groups of participants represent each of the *termini* of Toledo: Talavera, Santa Eulalia, Maqueda, and Calatalifa. Petrus Ibendesdel, Petrus Maurus Adail, Stephanus Abinzulemia, Menindo Avenlanpan, and Ciprianus Ibamut were among the first group of confirmers to the act, probably representatives of the Mozarab community in Toledo itself. Among the other representatives, Joannes Saracenus from San Eulalia is the only one with a clear reference to the Islamic world, although several had Arabic titles, including *alcalde, alvazir,* and a *zavalmedina*. In addition, there were three men with the title, *adail* after their name. *Adail* is from the Arabic al-dail meaning leader of the calvary, another reference to Islamic military organization, similar to *alferiz* and their title related to their role in territorial defenses.

While the 1150 gathering in Toledo was unusual, some other examples demonstrate how widespread the cross-cultural interaction was. In 1066, Dona Mayor, the daughter of Count Sancho of Castile, in her last will and testament provided for the emancipation of all of the male

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[235] CSC, doc.106. The extensive list of witnesses is the most mixed group I have found yet in a Latin document.

and female Muslim slaves she had, on the condition that they convert to Christianity, a clear incentive for conversion, whatever the individuals' beliefs and practices were at the time. In 1069, Countess Justa gave to Citi Morelez and his wife Marie a *solar* in the territory of San Marie in Villasirga. The previous owner was identified as Vermudo Vermudez, and the property location was pinpointed, as was common, by listing its relationship to neighboring properties, identified by their owners, one of whom was Ectavita Sarracinez, the other was Citi Dominquez, and the third being the *kampo.* In this property exchange we see both the continued popularity of Citi, an Arabic honorific (*sidi, sayed)*, as a moniker, and people identified as Saracens, at least as a patronym, living cheek to jowl with Christians.[236] Similarly, in 1131, Domingo Velaz gave to the Monastery of Oña a ninth of the property he had received from King Alfonso VII, describing its location as "near the *Quintana*[?] of Don Judas."

In one instance, the religious identity of particpants is signaled by their association with a mosque. In 1099 Pedro I of Aragon conceded to the barons of Navale all of the *parias* and *azefros* which they owed to him, in return for their service in the *castellum* of Navale in the province of Huesca. He also agreed to other terms, saying, "and therefore you may have your mosque in your villa, as you are accustomed; and insofar as you remain loyal to me, without art and without *inganno* against either Moors or Christians, you and your children and all of your posterity for all time [may have the above] according to me and my posterity with faith and without bad intent" [237] The practicalities of ruling a diverse population, particularly in a frontier region, made tolerance of religious difference acceptable, as long as loyal defenses were

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[236] The name Citi continues to be popular in the area judging by its frequent appearance in witness lists well into the twelfth century. See for example, SJB doc. 4(1104); SSO docs. 39(1111), 50 (1132); and SZC docs. 23 (1120), 24 (1124), 25 (1129), 30 (1134).

[237] CDP, doc.70, "et quod abeatis vestra mezquita in vestra villa, sicut abere soletis; et vos quod sedeatis mihi fideles, sine arte et sine inganno contra moros et christianos, vos et filii vestri et omnis posteritas vestra ad me et ad omni mea posteritate, per fidem sine ullo malo ingenio, per secula cuncta."

maintained. Elsewhere, in 1100, in a type of gift that would be repeated often by his successors, Pedro I gave to San Maria de Alquezar and to abbot Don Galindus a number of properties around the cities of Barabastro, Huesca, and Monzón, including with the last, "all the tithes of my Saracens in Salinas."[238] The Muslim population in captured Monzón remained in place, but they had been compelled to pay a *decima* to the king, which was transferred to the monastery.

Infrastructure:

As towns fell into the hands of the Christian kings, they brought with them buildings and other infrastructure, like water mills and irrigation systems. That infrastructure, referred to by Arabic terms, appears frequently in the charters of Pedro I of Aragon as well as in monastic charters from the period. As a means of cultural diffusion, acquisition of the buildings and other infrastructure built previously by members of the Arabic language culture should not be underestimated. When houses and other structures were given out to loyal supporters, the previous owners' names were still attached and used to identify them in the charters.[239] It reminds one of the voyeuristic intimacy of moving into someone's house recently vacated by its longtime owners, with much of their things left behind.

Because of their religious significance, perhaps the most striking buildings transferred in Pedro I's charters are mosques (*misquita/meschita)*. Some conveyances of mosques specify that the mosque is to become a church. In other instances, the mosque is simply given to a loyal lay follower without specification of its future use. Other acts simply grant the mosque to a bishop or monastery. In one instance a church is referred to sometimes as *mesquita*, possibly because it once was a mosque or it was in the style of a mosque.[240] This awareness of the origins and style of buildings along with the Arabic names still attached to houses and property is a reminder of

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[238] Ibid., 95, "dono ibi omnes decimas de meis sarracenis de Salinas." While this is considered a falsification by the editor, it is not clear what aspect of it or when it was falsified, just generally that it was not accurate in its dating clause.

[239] CDP, docs.29 and 34 are good examples of this.

[240] CDP, doc.29. This document is discussed in more detail below.

cultural continuity or carryover. To be sure, taking over such religious sites for use by a conquering religious institutions is a way to establish political dominance in newly acquired territories. It is also an act of religious syncretism. When one culture begins to practice its religious rituals in the place designed for the rituals of another, the new religion becomes in some sense still respects, while replacing, the previous religion.[241] Usurpation of their holy sites validates the sites' holiness.

Pedro's distribution of mosques began before his assumption of the title, king of Aragon. In 1087, in a gift to Jimeno Garcés of various *torres* and *kasas,* Pedro also included "that mosque and its house*s* which belonged to Cadima," along with additional houses identified by their previous owners, Zikri ibn Halidlu, and Zulema ibn Habdilbar.[242] This transaction of 1087 took place in Estada, a town near Huesca, but before the conquest of Huesca itself. The conveyance was part of a methodical process of establishing control by his own men of the territory surrounding Huesca (undertaken by Pedro prior to his making an assault on the city itself, in 1096).[243] The donation was not to a religious figure but to one of the most important people in Estada, Eximino Garceiz, who is one of three *seniores* in Estada listed as witnesses to Pedro's acts. The gift was probably in return for Exemino's service and continued loyalty, although, no specific impetus for the gift is mentioned in the charter and it is not clear if the mosque was to remain a mosque. A mosque would be valuable even if it continued as a mosque because of income attached to it by taxation or from the property owned by the mosque. The property of mosques could also be independently given away. Thus, in 1098, again in Huesca, Pedro I gave "to Blessed Mary Magdalene in Arasquasse (Arascués), a religious house, the olive groves of the Mosque Pintata, and those in Lierta and in Strata and in Quarto, as well, for the

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[241] Friday (or congregational) mosques were a favorite target for conversion to churches, as they held social, political and religious significance for the inhabitants, as the site where the community would gather, where political communications to the public might be made, and where Friday prayers were said.

[242] CDP, 3, "*dono tibi illa mezkida, cum illas kasas que fuerunt de Cadima"*

[243] Brian Catlos, *Victors and Vanquished,* 93-94.

enjoyment of those serving there for all time."[244] In such manner, the support system for one religion was diverted, in tact, to another.

After the capture of Huesca a more typical pattern of mosque absorption emerges. In December of 1096 Pedro apportioned property to the bishops of his realm, "so that the Bishop of Iacca will have the mosque for his see with all its appurtenances, and the abbot of Saint Pons and his monks will have the old church of Saint Peter with all its appurtenances."[245] In 1097, in another act or act notice, Pedro begins:

> At the time after innumerable Saracens conquered and also ruled Cesarugustus, (Zaragoza) with a multitude of false Christians, while nearly 4000 were slaughtered, we captured the most renowned and famous city Osca (Huesca).[246] In the year of incarnation of our Lord 1097, in order to restore the old pontifical crown, I confer to Bishop Peter Aragonensi the most excellent mosque (mezchita) of all of the cities of Ispania, which in honor of Lord Jesus Christ Nazarene and the most blessed apostle Peter, and Saint Mary, genitrix of God, and Saint John the Baptist and four Evangelist, by convocation of Archbishop Berengar Tarraconensi and Amato Burdegannsi, and Bishop Peter of Pamplona, Fulk of Barcelona, Santio Lascarensi, I have dedicated this church (ecclesia).[247]

Pedro I's description of his transformation of this mosque into a church shows both an appreciation of the urban infrastructure he had conquered, and an appreciative sense of the context of other urban structures in the peninsula. In another document of 1097, the boundaries of Saint Cyprien of Huesca were described as extending to the house of the Sarracin named

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[244] CDP, doc.53, "dono vel offero eidem beate Marie Magdalene in Arasquasseillas oliveras que fuerunt de illa mezquita Pintata, et in lierta et in Strata et in Quarto, ut fru[c]tos earum serviant ibi per cuncta."

[245] CDP, doc.24, "ut episcopus Iaccensis haberet miskidam pro sede, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis; et abbas sancti Poncii et monachis eius haberent illam ecclesiam antiquam Sancti Petri, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus." The editor marks this as a falsification, primarily because of inaccurate dating.

[246] This is a reference to Peter I's forces' siege of Zaragoza and defeat of Almoravid forces attempting to supply the city around the same time as he captured Huesca.

[247] CDP, doc.30, "De victo namque Cesaraugustano rege cum innumerabili sarracenorum, falsorum christianorum, multitudine atque ferme 40 cesis milibus, inclitam atque famossisimam urbem Oscam cepimus; anno Dominice Incarnationis 1097, in qua ad restaurandum antique pontificates apicem, Petro Aragonensi episcopo, omnibus ispanicarum urbium mezchitam contuli excellentiorem, quam in honore Domini Ihesu Christi Nazareni necnon beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, sancteque Marie genitricis Dei et Sancti Johannis Baptiste at que Evangeliste, convocatis archiepiscopis Berengario tarraconensi et Amato Burdeganensi, episcopis quoque Petro Pampilonensi, Fulcone Barchionensi, Santio Lascarensi, conscio et cooperante eiusdem civitatis Petro episcopo, dedicari eccelsiam feci."

Abingorofa, and specifies that there they should build "*ipsam mesquidam ecclesiam*" dedicated to Saint Mary for the receipt of travelers and pilgrims.[248] In this instance, the Latin and Arabic vocabulary are merged in order to describe the structure Pedro envisioned, a church that would act in the same manner as a mosque, dedicated to Saint Mary and in service to travellers and pilgrims. Finally, in 1103, Pedro made a gift to Saint-Foy of Conques of a mosque, an *almunia,* and some other property in the city of Huesca.[249]

Other parts of Islamic urban infrastructure were absorbed by the Christian kingdoms. The market structure used for warehousing goods as well as merchants, know in Arabic as *fonduq* was one of the pieces of urban infrastructure absorbed.[250] In a concession to the monastery of Lleyre, Pedro I donated a mosque to be transformed into a church dedicated to the Holy Savior and the martyrs Nunilonis and Elodie, in a fashion similar to his actions in Huesca. Included in the property of the mosque, however, was "the *fonduq* which is between and next to the gate of Alamin Mauro; and all the houses and dwellings that are connected to the street and that continue up to the other gate that is next to the well called Azabas." In addition, the infrastructure surrounding the market, the gate and the well were also listed.[251] In descriptions such as these we see the Islamic urban infrastructure being reused by the new Christian lords, who maintained not only buildings and terminology, but the mode of operation, as we will see when discussing

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[248] Ibid., 29, "ut ipsi faciant ibi ipsam mesquidam ecclesiam in honore sancte et perpetue virginis marie ad receptaculum hospitum et peregrinorum." See also docs. 42,53,77, 119

[249] Ibid.117, the connections with France will be taken up in depth in Chapters 4 and 5.

[250] See Olivia Remy Constable's *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) on the origins of this institution. The Arabic, *funduq,* in turn, was an absorption of the Greek institution, *panadokiean,* a hotel for all. The Greek/Roman origins of the institution and the word do not eliminate it from the category of Arabic institutions, as it is in the nature of acculturation that each society adapts and develops a piece of culture to its own needs, as Constable clearly demonstrates. With the evolution of this institution in the Arabic language world, it merged with a Persian hospitality institution, the *khan*, so that the two words, *funduq* and *khan,* were used almost interchangeably in the medieval Arabic-speaking world.

[251] CDP, doc.40, "et illam alfondegam que intra et iuxta portam de Alamin Mauro est ; et omnes casas et domos que est iuxta puteum qui vocatur Azabas." See also docs. 42, 53, 77, 119.

borrowed institutions reflected in the Arabic-language titles used for market management and taxation.[252]

Military infrastructure was also absorbed. Since the territory first acquired by Christian kingdoms was from the Muslim *al-thugr*, the absorption of defensive structures is not surprising. While the term *castellum* is common in Pedro's charters, there are also numerous mentions of Arabic terms for military fortifications, such as *alhizn,* (*al-hisn, husun,* pl.), a type of fortress. In 1090, Pedro made a charter of transfer of the *almunia* of Areistolis to Garcia Ennecones de Asiseso with all of its *terminis* "as they existed on the day when omnipotent God gave us Monzón," as well as fields and gardens outside the city, while retaining for himself the power of justice in the households of the city. In addition, he gives Garcia those houses which he has in the *alhizen* of that *castellum*.[253] The use of separate terms, one Latin and one Arabic, could imply that the *al-hisn* of the *castellum* represented something that was distinct from the *castellum* or it could be only a reiteration of the location. While both *castellum* and *alhisen* can be translated as fortress, the *alhizen* may refer to something contained within the *castellum,* perhaps the keep or *donjon,* which in turn contained houses.[254]

It is difficult to tie extant structures to these archival descriptions of castellum versus *alhisn,* since it is difficult to know the state of the structure at the time. If the passage refers to the fortress at Monzón, only the central tower in the court is part of the original Muslim era fortress.[255] The architecture of Umayyad fortress structures was a blend of Mesopotamian,

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252 Other documents mentioning *alfóndega,* see RAD*,* doc. 413.

253 CDP 7 Hec est carta quam facio ego Petrus Sancius regis filius, ad te Garcia Ennecones de Asieso, de illa almunia de Areistolis et illa zeida (possibly zayida-addition, surplus, appendage) cum suis terminis, quod [h]abebat die quando Deus omnipotens nobis donavit Montson; et de illa alode quod [h]abes in circum Montson." "Et retineo ibi iusticia sicut potestate debet abere iusticia in kasas de sua civitate. Et similter dono tibi illas kasas quas [h]abes in illo alhizen de illlo kastello, frangas et ingenuas." It appears from the phrasing that this is a confirmation of properties that Garcia Ennecones already has.

254 It is not clear whether the *castellum* is in Monzón or Ariestolas, but the phrase is just before the references to the *civis* of Monzón, so it is more likely in Monzón.

255 Joan Fuguet Sans, "L'Architecture militaire des commanderies Templiéres de la Couronne d'Aragon , » *La Commanderie : Institution des Ordres Militaires dans l'Occident Medieval,* Paris : Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002, 208-212 (187-217).

Hellenic and Persian features, brought by the Damascus-originating dynasty to Iberia. The use of brick, including for vaults without cinctures (ribs), distinguished the structures from Romano-Byzantine models, while the overall structure remained (for the most part) within Romano-Byzantine norms.[256]

The nature of *alhisn* is part of the ongoing debate about the nature of Spanish society referenced at the beginning of this chapter. The argument, more specifically, is about the nature of the *hisn/qarya (*fortress/village) complex and the consequent nature of Ibero-Islamic society, particularly the rural hinterland. While some have argued that the *hisn* represented a locally controlled defensive structure, others have disagreed for various reasons.[257] Behind this dispute over the nature of *alhisn* is the debate over whether the inhabitants of rural Al-Andalus were tribal or feudal, whether they were Arab and Berber or converted indigenous people, and the degree of continuity with Roman culture versus adoption of Arab or Berber culture.[258] What this argument misses is the complex and diverse nature of Islamic civilization by the ninth century and the degree of commercial, artistic, literary and cultural exchange that took place

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[256] Henri Terasse, *"*Les forteresses de l'Espagne Musulman," *Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia,* 134, 1954, 455-483, 462 in particular : « L'usage de la brique et l'emploi d la voûte, souvent exécutée sans cintres modfient profondément le *castellum* romano-byzantin. » that is brick vaulting without cinctures or ribs was a departure from Romano-Byzantine technique. There are surviving examples of these Iran, in the Isfahan Masjede Jome in particular, of this brick vaulting technique of Muslim architecture.

[257] James L.Boone and Nancy L. Benco," Islamic Settlement in North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula," *Annual Review of Anthropology,* Vol. 28 (1999), 51-71. While Boone and Benco acknowledge criticisms of Guichard's argument, they still maintain the framework of tribalism in their discussion of the nature of the *hisn/qarya* complex, seemingly oblivious to alternatives outside of the confusing binary of tribal and feudal. The use of the word 'tribal' to describe Muslim society of the eleventh century is perplexing, and not particularly helpful, considering the amount of evidence of an urban, complex civilization in the Islamic world and al-Andalus and the vagueness of the term 'tribal'. The apparent aptness of the term rests on the fact that the Muslim population in Iberia was primarily Arab and Berber, both described in modern times anthropologically as 'tribal' societies, leading to an assumed correlation between modern Arab and Berber societies and medieval al-Andalus. However, since the Muslim expansion created a diaspora of ethnic Arabs, it is just as likely that the 'Arab' inhabitants of al-Andalus were from Mesopotamia, Syria, and North Africa, all areas with long histories of urban, complex civilizations, even if those inhabitants could trace their ancestry back to the Arabian peninsula. Guichard's theory of the nature of Andalusian society, on the other hand, relies on an essentialist notion of culture, borne with an ethnicity, that precludes acculturation, and, as such, his theory seems an awkward continuation of the nineteenth century orientalist arguments for the uniqueness of European culture.

[258]Somewhat surprisingly the meaning of Arab used in this argument means Bedouins from the Arabian peninsula, it seems, rather than of Arabic heritage or just Arabic speaking, since the argument hinges on the 'tribal' nature of rural Islamic society on the model of Arab or Berber Bedouins.

within that Arabic-speaking civilization, regardless of what the ethnic origins of its people were. This is not to say that ethnic difference disappeared altogether, on the contrary, ethnic difference, as well as economic difference, seems to have been a common point of discrimination and at times conflict.[259] But, these differences aside, Islamic civilization had absorbed a great deal from the areas it conquered, primarily Roman and Sassanian (Persian), so that talking about 'Arab' civilization as something analogous to tribal culture of the Arabian peninsula seems to be grossly misunderstanding the nature of the medieval Islamic world.

As a result, the debate over *alhisn* seems to be focused on two equally incorrect binaries, feudal or tribal, Arabo-Berber or Romano-Gothic. An alternative understanding is given by Mikel de Epalza, and supported by Robert Burns, inwhich *husun* in eleventh century Al-Andalus were a system of fortresses under the control of an urban area, protecting areas of dependent countryside and their produce or key pathways between important urban areas.[260] This description aligns with the description of the location of fortresses by the Umayyad caliphate as a system designed to protect the movement of people and things between town and country, even as the greatest threats to the caliphate came from outside the territory.[261] With the fall of the caliphate, the eleventh century *taifas* constructed palace-fortresses as symbols of their decentralized political power. Whether at this stage their relationship with troops in *husun* had become feudal, similar to castellans, or not is the crux of the unresolved debate. While the *hisn* may have evolved later into a more semi-autonomous institution of control more akin to the feudal function of castles in the twelfth century under the Almoahads, as suggested by Francisco Franco Sanchez, the eleventh century *alhisn* was more likely a key piece of infrastructure

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259 S.D.Goitein, op. cit., and Maya Shatzmiller, op.cit., for details on the ethnic complexity of Muslim society as well as Malcom Lyons, "The Crusading Stratum in the Arabic Hero Cycles," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria,*Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1993, 147-161, who discusses the perceptions of different ethnicities and friction between different sectors as reflected in hero cycles about the crusades. See Olivia Remy Constable's *Housing the Stranger* and *Trade and Traders in Medieval Iberia,* on the complex economy of Iberia in this period.

260 Robert I. Burns, Paul E. Chevedden, and Mikel de Epalza, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Iberia under James the Conqueror,* Leiden: Brill, 1999*,* pp.

261 Terasse, "Les forteresses de l'Espagne Musulman," 460-461.

supporting the symbiotic relationship between Islamic city and countryside, even if some rural settlements were populated by Berber emigrees.[262]

The urban-tied thesis is supported by the documents of sales in Toledo in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These Arabic language documents often describe properties as part of the *alqueria*, (*qarya*-the agricultural territory associated with the *hisn*), in sales carried out by residents of Toledo. While this does not prove that nowhere did *alqueria* operate as independent tribal entities, immune from the influence of the urban political structures, it does show that the presence of *alhisn* and *alqueria* does not necessarily connote a tribal Arabo-Berber culture. If we assume Toledo is typical, we should imagine something more akin to the Northern Italian city/country dynamic.[263][264]

So what are we to make of the use of the Arabic-derived word, *alhisn,* to describe infrastructure absorbed by conquering Christian rulers? In the example cited above, the *alhizen* was associated with the city of Monzón and dominated an important stretch of the Cinca river along the road between Huesca and Lerida. At the time that it was captured by Pedro I of Aragon the area had been part of Islamic territory since the eighth century, albeit part of its frontier. As the Christian kings absorbed this area, they absorbed Islamic military infrastructure, and the rural technology it protected as well-or at least some awareness of the potential of Islamic agricultural exploitation. [265]

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[262] Buresi, *La Frontière,* 40-59.

[263] LMT docs. 383, 386, 389, 390, 392, 393, 394, 403, 406, and 407 all use *alqueria* to describe the property being sold.

[264] Burns, et al., *Negotiating Cultures,* pp. . Also see, Philippe Senac, "Islam et Chrétienté dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Age: la naissance d'une frontière , » *Studia Islamica,* no. 89,(1999), 91-108. Senac , along with Terrasse, affirms the argument of de Epalza that the Muslim frontier in Iberia was a series of fortifications designed to protect pathways of importance to the cities, defending against invasion as well as protecting important infrastructure like irrigation works.

[265] Johnny de Meulemeester et André Matthys, avec collaboration de François Amiques, « Un Grenier Collectif Fortifié Hispano-Musulman? Le Cabezo de la Corbertera (Vallée du Río Segura/Murcie) Bilan Provisoire d'une Approche Ethnoarchéologique, » in *EthnoArcheologie mediterraneenne :finalites, demarches et resultats :table ronde/organisée par la Casa de Velázquez,* (Madrid : Casa de Velázquez, 1995),181-196, provides evidence of collective fortifications for grain storage, similar to those in Moracco, in Murcia. However, there is no information on the dating of the structures and the analysis of the structures is based on Morrocan structures.

Part of that agricultural exploitation, found in Pedro's gifts of property, were *almunias (al-munya, munan,*pl.-vast garden or object of desire).[266] For example, in 1098, by way of settling a dispute between the Abbot of Montaragon and the bishop of Huesca, Pedro ceded half of the *decima* of the king's produce, namely "the *almunias* of the district of Alcoraz and the *alfoz* which the kings of the Saracens had there..."[267] In this context, the term *almunia* may reflect the borrowed institution of the fortified villa of Al-Andalus with its agricultural support described by James Dickie. In this instance, its mention along with the *alfoz* that the kings of the Saracens had, seems to support Dickie's definition, as the property is part of an Arabic-language institution for royal exploitation of the countryside.[268] The use of *almunia* is not limited to royal holdings, however, and there are many words for garden in use in medieval Arabic: *baq, bustan, ha'it, and janna,* all translate as garden in English. Dickie argues for a particular affinity between the Roman *villa*, in its meaning of rural or suburban agricultural unit, and the term, *munya,* as both refer to a complex of agricultural use, pasturage and tillage, fruit trees, and ornamental space near a dwelling, rather than simply a garden. Like their Roman counterparts, these agricultural spreads were often the property of urban landowners, part of the system of exploitation which supported the urban density of al-Andalus. [269]

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266 Dozy, *Glossaires,* 180, *Supplemante aux Dictionnaires Arabes,* vol. 2, p.628 col.1, J.M.Cowan, ed. *Arabic English Dictionary,* 1088, col. 2. The modern definition is strictly a wish, desire, or object of desire, however, the association of a garden with an object of desire is not too far of a leap. Dozy attributes the definition of 'vaste jardin' to Recherches sur l'histoire et la literature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen Âge, 2^{e} edit. Leyde, 1860, II, Append. LXV et suiv., Vocabulista in arabico pubblie da Schiaparelli, Florence, 1871 (ortus), Tha'alibi , Lataif al-ma'arif, ed. de Jong. Leyde, 1867, 131, 7 et 8, Mohammed ibn-Harith, *Histoire des cadis de Cordove,* man. D'Oxford, no. 127 du Catalogue de Nicoll, 336, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par Abou-Obeid-el Bekri, texte publié par le Baron de Siane, Alger, 1857,* 124, 8 a.f., Aljbar Machmua, crónica anónima del siglo XI, dada á luz por Don Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid, 1867, 63, 4 a f, Mocaddasi ed. Goeje. Leyde, 1876, does not give this meaning, according to Dozy.

267 CDP, doc.46, "*excepta medietate decime laboranciarum regis, quas in eadem urbe ipso die habebat, scilicet terminum almunie de Alcoraz et alchobces quos sarracenorum reges ibi habuerunt..*" This concession made by Pedro to the Bishop is captured again in a follow up, doc. 47, with almost identical description.

268 James Dickie, "The Hispano-Arab Garden: towards a typology," *Legacy of Muslim Iberia,* 1016-1035.

269 Expiración García Sánchez, "Agriculture in Muslim Iberia," in *Legacy of Muslim Iberia, 987-999.*

Andalusian horticulture, however, drew on more than Roman heritage, blending Persian, Arab, and Mesopotamian ideas and Islamic agricultural scholarship, as well as developing its own original style and body of knowledge. Beginning in the tenth century, Andalusian scholars began to import the knowledge developed in the Abbasid East, and develop an Andalusi school of agronomy, which reached its zenith in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, despite it being a period of political disintegration and turmoil.[270] Part of this rise was driven by the use of Abbasid, Byzantine, and Andalusi agricultural manuals. Books like Ibn Bassal's *al-muqni' fi'l-filaha* (Handbook of Agriculture), and Al-Tighnari's *kitab zahrat al bustan wa nuzhat al-adhhan* (Splendor of the garden and recreation of the minds), with information on soil types, water technology, fertilization, calendars of tasks, astrology and meteorology, plant disease prevention, and hiring of appropriate labor, provided the technical expertise to both maximize agricultural production and create an earthly paradise. The development of some of these gardens was heavily dependent on hydraulic engineering to deliver water to high places, creating lushness in areas that are now desolate after being left to nature, without irrigation.[271] With the fall of the Caliphate in the 1030's, agricultural expertise was dispersed among the *taifa's,* as people left the political uncertainty of Cordoba and settled in the regional capitals. One such location was Zaragoza, which became known for its gardens in the eleventh century under the patronage of the Banu Hud (1039-1146), who used alliances with Christian rulers to maintain their independence well into the twelfth century. [272] During this period, Pedro I of Aragon's grant, made while in the area of Zaragoza to Abbot Ximeno of Monte Aragon, was "half the *almunia* of Montmesa, between Zaragoza and Huesca, with half of its tower, and half of its expanse both empty and populated, with herbage and water and all of its appurtenances." The charter was

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[270] Expiración Garsciá Sánchez "Agriculture in Muslim Iberia" in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 987-988.

[271] Idem.

[272] Dickie, "The Hispano-Arab Garden," *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 1023.

made "in the garden (*[h]ortus)* of Zaragoza, while [Pedro] ruled by the grace of God in Aragon, in Pamplona, in Sobrearbe, and Ripagorza."[273]

Through the language they used, we again see Christian scribes discriminating between different types of infrastructure, or different words for the same infrastructure, if *hortus* and *almunia* indeed refer to the same place. Similar to the use of *alhizen* and *castellum* in Latin documents, one finds both *almunia* and the Latin *[h]ortus* used frequently in the eleventh century, sometimes within the same document, but often not referring to the same physical structures or holding. In 1099 in Huesca, Pedro gave his chapel of Saint Nicholos to San Juan de la Peña with all the *decima* and *primicia* of those *almunias* which Pedro gave "in allod, above Fraxeneto (above for Senior Petro Sangiz and Almalel for Garcia Eximinones, my *alferiz."* Pedro also gave "the decimas of bread and wine and the gardens ([*h]ortiis)* and the mills and the grass and the judgements and all things over which we are owed tithes," to San Juan de la Peña in the same document. Similar to the *alhizen,* the *almunia* was not identical to the Latin *hortus* in the minds of eleventh-century Aragonese, implying that some characteristics of the *almunia* that was not represented by the term *hortus.* Whether it was the origin of the particular property or its characteristics that determined the terminology, *almunia* and *hortus* were used for distinct pieces of infrastructure by one scribe. The developments in Andalusi agriculture and gardening in the tenth to twelfth centuries, with consciousness of layout and the importation of plants from other areas of the Islamic world, suggest something distinct about the organization and structure of an *almunia,* that distinguished it from the *hortus* at the turn of the eleventh century.

Some more examples perhaps shed more light on the nature of the *almunia.* In 1098 and again in 1099, near Barbastro, but before that city was recaptured by him, Pedro I of Aragon

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273 CDP 99, "hanc cartam donacionis et confirmacionis,……ecclesie ihesu Nazareni Montis Aragonis et vobis abate dompno Eximino de Monte Aragone et ad vestros companneros (fighters for Christ, perhaps?) medietatem de illa almunia de Montmesa, cum medietate de illa turre, et cum medietate de illo suo termino heremo et populate, cum erbis et aquis et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus." And, "Facta carta ista in era MCXXXVIII (1101) in mense iunio in capud (sic) de illa orta de Zaragossa, regnant me Dei gratia in Aragone et in Pampilona et in Superarbi vel Ripacurcia.." Here, also, is an example of either armed retainers in service to a monastery, or perhaps of a hybrid military-religious institution. See discussion of Belchite, above.

gave the *"almunia* of Iben Barbicula, with all the *termini* which he had and held when this charter was made, to Santiago de Compostella."[274] Since Pedro was donating this property before the conquest of Barbastro (1103), the use of the word *almunia* is associated with an Arabic-speaking owner. However, it must also have had meaning for people outside of al-Andalus as a particular type of property. In the next line of the same document, other property given to Saint Jacob of Gallicia is described using Latin vocabulary alone, as in "a half field (*campus*) and a vineyard (*vinea*) within the gates of Bebulfege." In Huesca an *almunia* contained a church and a mill.[275] In Sariñena, in 1103, an *almunia* was given to the church of Montaragon, described as the *almunia* of the queen, and this gift included "a tower, *termini* populated or barren, herbiage, water, and pasturage, woods, and oak-coppice, and all its appurtenances."[276] In 1102 in Monzón, Pedro gave to the monastery of Saint Victor 'one *almunia* in the field of Litera...that *almunia* of Abin Fledal, with all its termini intact and all its *terras* which were part of it on the day when the Christians captured the castle of Monzón."[277] In 1117, Ermengard Count of Urgell "gave to God and the Hospital of Jerusalem the *almunia* in Balager which was the property of Guilelmus Raimundo *Narbone* including all the allodial lands, integrally, and with their *decima* and *primicis*, which pertain to the *almunia.*"[278] In these examples, the *almunias* given included other dependent properties (in line with Dickie's description of the *villa*-type *almunia)* that are enumerated using Latin terms, such as *terminus, terra, molina, vinea, pascuis, herbis,* and even an *ecclesia*. In his delinieation of the boundaries of the territory of the castle of

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[274]CSC, docs.95 and 96. "et dono Domino Deo et Sancto Iacobo de Gallicia in términos de Barbastro illam almunia de Iben Barbicula, cum illos términos totos quos habebat et erat tenente die quo ista carta fuit facta."

[275] CDP, doc.55.

[276] CDP, doc.79.

[277] CDP, doc.107, "Supra dicto vero monasterio Sancti Victoriani {Petrus]dono una almunia in campo de Litera subtus ipso moare illa almunia de Abin Feldal, cum toto suo termino ab integro et totas ipsas terras quas ad ipso die quod castrum Montson captum fuit ad christianis erat ipsa almunia tenente." Other *almunias* were also part of Pedro's gift along with vineyards, houses, and an *ortus.*

[278] HSJ, doc.36, "In Dei nomine, ego Ermengaudus, comes Urgellensis, dono omnipotenti Deo et ad Ospicium Jherosoluimitanum medietatem de ipsa almunia, quam fuit de Guilielmo Raimundo Narbone in Balager, aput medietate tocius alodi quod ad illam almuniam pertinent, ab integro, cum decimis et primiciis."

Monzón, as distinct from what he held in allod, Pedro I defined the boundaries as limited by 'the mountain called Cida and Almcegere and Subes and Gemenels, and reaches up to Zahadin and where the *almunia* of the Archas is found and *al-cantarella* of Taiebze and passes the *almunia* that is called de Avinferruz and up to the *almunia* of Rivol and Saint Stephan and then back to Monzón."[279] Such *almunia* thus surrounded Monzón. Significantly, *almunia* ended up in the hands of people on the other side of the Pyrenees. In 1102, before Barbastro had been captured, Pedro gave to Saint Foy de Conques in France "a mosque, known as the best, and an *almunia* that was Iben Xipiello's which is certainly the best that he and his family possess".[280]

As we can see from these examples, the infrastructure known as *almunia* represented a significant part of the landscape absorbed during the Christian conquest of Iberia. In addition, the selective use of the Arabic term, *almunia,* reflected a qualitative difference from the *[h]ortus* or *villa*, terms also used concurrently. The term *almunia* denoted something insufficiently described by Latin *hortus*, requiring a borrowed word.[281] *Almunia* is one of the words which eventually

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[279] CDP, doc. 11, "propter terminus ad castrum Montson, quomodo tallat (sic) montem qui vocatur illa Ceida et Almaceger et Subes et Gemenels, et pervenit usque Zahadin et qhomodo devenit almunia de illas Archas et alcantarella Taiebze et devenit ad illa almunia que vocatur de Avinferruz et pervnit ad illa almunia d Rivol et Sancti Stephani et usque ad Montson. » The combination of Arabic derived place names and Latin-derived names gives one a sense of the mixed cultural setting in this newly conquered territiory.

[280] CDP, doc.117, "ante quam Barbastrum civitas Sancte Christianitate restitueretur, dedisse Sancto Salvatori et Sancte Fidi de Conchis, at que Begoni verabili abbati eiusdemque loci monachis, unam meschitam miliorem scilicet, que esset in Barbastro, excepto illa de sede episcopali, ad construendum ibi monasterium pro salute et remedio anime ac bona memorie patris mei, …addens etiam viginti argensatas de vineis, et almunia que fuit de Iben Xipiello,

[281] The importance of this adopted infrastructure is also reflected in the titles that the Christian kings took on as they gained Arabic territories. When Alfonso VII of Castile described himself as 'emperor of all Hispania,' he was taking the title that had been used to describe the Muslim ruler in works like *La Chanson de Roland.* But he also listed the cities or territories over which he was emperor and the Arabic-language cities were well represented in the list. In 1136 when Alfonso was making a gift to San Juan de Burgos, Alfonso styles himself "emperor of all Hispania" in the body of the document and in the dating clause more specifically adds, "Alfonso, Emperor, reigning in Toledo, Leon, Zaragoza, Najiera, Castile, and Galicia." (*Documentacion del monasterio de San Juan de Burgos, 1091-1400,* doc. 9)Two of the six cities highlighted were controlled by Muslim rulers for a long period of time. Toledo, captured by Alfonso VI in 1086, was under the control of Aragonese kings until Alfonso VII.281 Zaragoza was captured by Alfonse le batailleur, Pedro's half-brother and successor, in 1118 but Alfonse VII of Castile claimed control in 1136 at Alfonse le Batailleur's death. Najera , while conquered much earlier, was the city to which Peter the Venerable travelled to commission translations of Arabic and Hebrew language texts in 1142, a testament to that city's enduring Arabic-speaking population.

disappeared from Iberian languages, just as some of the lush Andalusi *almunias* themselves eventually withered and died.[282]

Offices/Institutions

In addition to the physical infrastructure absorbed during this period, a correlated absorption of offices occurred at the same time. That Arabic titles for offices were adopted along with Islamic governmental administrative functions is suggested by the descriptions of government administrative units in the documents of rulers and monasteric communities. With the exception of the most common, and one of the oldest titles, *alferiz*, a member of the royal military entourage (perhaps something of a "super knight", the titles and descriptions found in these documents are primarily concerned with the governance of cities and their assets. The acculturation that is represented by these titles and descriptions lies in the adoption of the functions they perform and the organization of governance as much as the borrowed language itself. The use of these terms could be explained by a number of factors. First, they may have represented functions for which there was no satisfactory Latin or Romance language alternative. They may have represented functions or organization for which the known Latin or romance term was significantly different in scope or character. And they may have been used because they better communicated to the inhabitants or subjects the functions and scope expressed to presumably Arabic-speaking people. As one might expect, these Arabic-language titles and jurisdictional units were used alongside, often in the same document, with other titles and terminology with roots in Roman governance. That is, when an appropriate Latin term was known and in use, it was used. It is only when an Arabic concept served better or more easily than a Latin one was the Arabic used.

Looking at the terms in use demonstrates this principal. The term *zavalmedina* is a contraction of the Arabic *sahib al-medina,* or magistrate of the city.[283] In 1098, four years after

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[282] Neuvonen, *Los Arabismos,* lists it as word no longer used but does not date its demise.

the capture of the city of Huesca, Pedro I of Aragon made an *albara* (contract) with the *zavalmedina,* Lop Fortuniones, confirming to the latter, "the houses of Zamega Iben Hut and another house of Abdalmalec, and all of the property that Senior Forti Ortiz and the abbot Don Galindo gave to you (Lop), as much as you held the day when this *albara* was made." The use of the word *albara* rather than a Latin word, such as *pactum* or *conventum,* for this legal agreement perhaps suggests the Arabic cultural origins of Lope Fortuniones. This contract was witnessed by Garzia Enekons, the *merino,* a contraction of the Latin, *maiorinus,* an officer of the king.[284] The title *zavalmedina* becomes more common in Latin documents of the late twelfth and thirteenth century, but it first appears in the wake of the conquest of Arab cities like Huesca in the eleventh century.[285]

Another Muslim-world office adopted by Christian rulers in Iberia was *alvasir* or *alguacil, (al-wazir,* vizier), the governor of a city and its territory in its Andalusi usage.[286] In 1150, Alfonso VII of Castile, with his son Sancho, and Raimund, the Bishop of Toledo, pledge an annual amount from the *decimum* of Toledo to Santiago de Compostella. Among the list of witnesses to this act were two men with the honorific *alvazir*, Julianus Petriz and Stephar Abran.[287]

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[283] Dozy, *Glossaire,* 367, «Ce mot, est fréquent dans les documents espagnols jusqu'au XIIe siècle pour designer le magistrat chargé du gouvernment civil d'une ville » from the Arabic sahib al-medina which was the name for the prefect of city police. Attested by Maccari, I 134, 1. 18 and Ibn-Khaldoun, *Prolégomènes,* II, 30, 1. 13.

[284] CDP, doc.44, "Ego Petrus Sangiz Dei gratia rex facio hanc albara ad te Lope Fortuniones zavalmedina. Dono tibi in Oxca illas casas de Zamega Iben Hut et alia casa de Abdelmalc cum illa ereditate quam tibi donarunt ibi senior Forti Ortiz et illo abbat don Galindo, sicut eras inde tenente die qua isto albara fuit factum." It goes on to list fifteen names in Arabic, several Mohamats, several Arrons, as well as a Iuzefi and a Hamet, as well as several less easily identifiable names. From this list it appears that the tenancies were mixed between people of different religious identities.

[285] CDP, doc.45. This document again involves the *zavalmedina* of Huesca in the same year.

[286] Dozy, *Glossaire,* 129, from Arabic *al-wazir*, a member of the governing council in Eastern territories, of Persian origin. In Iberia, *wazirs* were numerous and less powerful than in the Abbasid territories, often appointed as governors of a city or territory, similar to a duke. Both the governor of Toledo and the governor of Zaragoza carried the title *al-wazir.*

[287] CSC*,* 106. The extensive list of witnesses is the most mixed group I have found yet, and will be discussed more in the next section.

This pledge, made in Toledo, included a very long and cosmopolitan list of witnesses. Included in the witness list were several people with the title *alcalde.*(from the Arabic *al-qa'di,* a judge).[288] The witness list was divided into groups, representing different councils from several communities around Toledo, Talavera, Santa Eulalia, Maqueda, and Calatalifa. Each of these had at least one *alcalde*.[289] From Talavera there was Stephanus de Favib, *alcalde* of Talavera; from S. Eulalia there were Joannis Apnavar, *alcalde* of Santa Eulalia and Stephanus, *alcalde* as well as Joannes Diaz, *iudex;* from Maqueda there was Petrus Johannes, *alcalde* de Maqueda, Petrus Enego, *alcalde,* and, again, Garsia Garsiaz, *iudex*; from Calatalifa there was Petrus Pardus, *alclade* and Dominico Petriz, *iudex.* Julian Ribera has argued in his *Origenes del justicia de Aragón* that another Muslim judicial institution, *mazalim* or appeals judge, was the inspiration for the Aragonese office of *justiciar.* [290] The presence of both *alcalde* and *iudex* in this mid-twelfth century document from Castile could reflect different institutions for different ethnic groups, or different judicial functions encapsulated by *alcalde* and *iudex.*[291] In either case, the office of *alcalde* was another Islamic world cultural borrowing.

The institution of the *alfoz*, from the Arabic, *al-hawz,* meaning district, or canton, was used in Iberia as a district of jurisdiction or territory of a villa, parish or a castle with its dependencies, sometimes a self-governing unit with its own *fuero.*[292] In 1101, Pedro I of Aragon's second wife, Berta, was the donor of three fields described as "of the *alfoz* of the king

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[288] Dozy, *Glossaire,* 80, from the Arabic, *al-qadi*, judge. Need to check this out more closely-exact Arabic spelling and meaning-Dozy is not very specific-uncharacteristically.

[289] The towns of Talavera and Maqueda still exist today, west and north of Toledo, but Santa Eulalia and Calatalipha do not. Calatalipha appears to have been a *castellum,* near the town of Villaviciosa de Odón, near Madrid, but I have not yet identified the location of Santa Eulalia.

[290] Glick and Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation in Spanish History," 145.

[291] Besides these instances of *alcaldes,* see CDP.

[292] Dozy, *Glossaire,* 116, from Arabic *al-hawz,* meaning district, or canton, in Iberia it was normally a parish or a chateau and its dependence, a self-governing unit with its own *fuero.* While this is Dozy's description, it does not always comport with the usage in the charters from before the mid-twelfth century.

and a garden which had belonged to Abraham Azaref."[293] Pedro himself gave Galindo Dat, in addition to houses in Sarannyna that had belonged to Mohomat Iberali Adida, three fields of the *alfozes* of Fortunio Sanchiz (with his voluntary permission) and with the agreement that he [Galindo] would always have there one well-armed Christian *pedone*, a duty and property inheritable by Galindo's heirs. In this instance we can see a frontier area managed in a similar way to how it had been governed by the Cordoban caliphs and earlier emirs. That is, a loyal person was given authority with the caveat that they provide for the defense of Christian territories. In this sense, the *alfoz* was also like a fief with obligations to provide for defense. The agreement also required Galindo to build houses in the *alhizan* of the *castellum,* in the location specified by Pedro himself. The strategy employed here is similar to that used by earlier Muslim rulers and used in other frontier areas between rival Christian rulers,.[294]

In Burgos, an act of 1068 by Sancho II of Castile, reestablished the properties of the see of Oca, Villefranca Montes de Oca, listing the properties by *alfoz:* Ovirna, Aslancon, and Palentia were all listed with their churches. On the other hand, other properties were listed under their *civis*, *barrio*, or *urbis*.[295] A similar pattern of categorization is found in 1075 in a donation to the see of Burgos, with the donation described either as being in an *alfoz,* in a *castellum,* or in a *montis,* after which the *villa* was specified, then the details of the rights and properties. For example, the *villa* named Platano including the possessions of Otero Martini in *alfoz* de Berbesca along with all that pertained to the *villa* was donated to the see of Burgos[296] In another situation, Pedro gave to God and Mary Magdalene confiscated property near the *civis* of Huesca after its capture. It included two *alfobces* (plural of alfoz) belonging to Abin Alabar… and [property] of

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[293] CDP, doc.100, "Dono vobis in Oscha tres campos qui fuerient de alkobzes de rege et uno orto qui fuit de Abraham Azaref."

[294]Glick and Sunyer, "Acculturation as an explanatory concept." This appears to be a symptom of the cultural equilibrium that Glick and Sunyer ascribe to this period in Muslim-Christian acculturation in Iberia.

[295]DCB, doc.19, 22.

[296] Ibid., doc.26, "*Concedoque quondam villam in alfoze de Berbesca nomine Palatano cum illa hereditate de Otero Martini et cum ómnibus ad eandem villam pertinentibus."*

the same type belonging to Abmeit iben Alhandala. These properties included *terras* and vineyards, but it is less clear where the designation fit in any territorial organization.

The institution of *alfoz* was also used in Castile in territories captured from Muslims. In a donation of a villa given to the Hospitallers, initially by Queen Urraca and later confirmed by her son, Alfonso VII, the term *alfoz* was used to describe its location. In 1126, Alfonso VII of Castile (1105-1157) made a donation from his property, of the villa Atapuerta (Acapuerca), which was in "the *alfoz* is between the territory of Burgos and the territory of Auka (Oca), along the *camino* of Saint James."[297] Later in the document, in describing the privileges of the villa, Alfonso prohibits, any "*judex* or *senior* from entering and demanding *fossadera* (military requisition) or *annuduba* (from the Arabic, *nadaba*, to call up troops).[298] In 1138, Alfonso again confirmed the gift of this villa to the Hospitallers, but with much greater specificity concerning the boundaries of the villa's termini and the obligations for work on royal *serra,* which were maintained. Again the location of the *villa* of Atapuerca is described in terms of its *alfoz,* the *Alfoz de Lara,* the family of Lara being in the entourage of the kings of Castile in the twelfth century. In areas around the Duro, Reilly describes *alfoz* along with *aldea (*town*)* as organizing institutions used by Castilian kings in conquered territories.[299] They used the Arabic administrative organization to extend the political control of the market towns (*aldea)* into the countryside (*alfoz)*, as the simplest means of establishing an effective political organization. Similar to the *hisn/qarya* complex, *aldea* and *alfoz* were a means of organizing the countryside for the benefit of the markets of the city.

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[297] HSJ, doc. 78, "

[298] Dozy, et al. *Glossaire des Mots Espagnols,* p.191, :anuduva, anuduba, anuda adnuba, ….suivant Santa Rosa ces mots désignent 'une sorte d'impôt dont le produit servait à reparr ou à améliorer les ouvrages de fortification, » et encore « les gens qui devaient travailleer à ces ouvrages par manière de corvée. » Other definitions of the Arabic root of the word, *denuba,* define it as a call, including specifically a call to military duty. *For* fossadera, see Niermeyer, *fossataria,* p. 588, col. 2,

[299] Bernard Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 146.

While none of these individual pieces of information, the buildings, the titles, the names and references to Saracens, Jews, and Moors, is ironclad proof of acculturation, the combined impression leaves little doubt. The proof historians are looking for of the normal acculturation that occurs with two societies in close contact for centuries is there in a multiplicity of signs. Through these transactions it is clear there were Arabic-speaking peoples, identified as Muslims and Jews, people identified as Saracens, in various relationships with Crowns of Aragon and Castile-Leon, and the churches and monasteries of the north. We will see in the next chapter that these relationships continued, even increased in frequency, and, consequently, the borrowing of institutions and infrastructure from Islamic culture continued apace between 1150 and 1215. The next chapter will look in more detail at the urban centers wher Muslim-controlled territory and more Arabic speaking people lived in intimate contact with others.

CHAPTER FOUR: ACCULTURATION IN THE MEDINA/URBS

By the mid-twelfth century a number of very vibrant, Arabic-speaking cities had come under Castillian and Aragonese rule, including Toledo, Huesca, and Zaragoza. The terms of surrender for all of these cities were designed to encourage the Arabic speaking populations, including Muslims, to remain. The logic for this tolerance is understandable, since emptying the cities of their Arabic speaking population would have left them both vulnerable to recapture and of considerably less worth to their new overlords. A loyal population was needed both for defense and to carry on the economic and cultural activities that made such cities jewels in the crowns of their new Christian rulers. Within these cities, these medina/urbs, large populations of people of different cultural backgrounds intermingled. The largest of these cities was Toledo.

Mapping Medieval Toledo

At the time of the city's negotiated surrender to the Castilian king, Alfonso VI, in 1085 Toledo was home to an Arabic speaking and Arabized population of Christians, Jews, and, predominantly, Muslims-- an estimated 37,000 people. The conversion of the *masjid al-juma,* or congregational mosque, into a cathedral within a few years of the conquest exacerbated the exodus of Muslims, previously a majority in the city.[300] While Toledo would not recover its preconquest population until sometime in the thirteenth century, Toledo was, nevertheless, the largest city in Alfonso's kingdom.[301]

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[300] The impetus for the change, which violated the terms of the negotiated surrender, are variously described in Arabic and Latin sources as Alfonso's treachery or as the conniving of his Burgundian wife, Constance, and the French archbishop Bernard. Bernard's involvement is plausible since it would likely not have sat well with him to have the most spectacular religious structure in the city dedicated to another religion.

[301] Jean-Pierre Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Toleède du XIIe au XVe Siècle,"* Madrid: Casa de Veláquez, 1997, 25, 27-35 on the *mudejars* exit. Population estimates for this era are notoriously difficult to gauge but based on the frequent reference into the thirteenth century of abandoned or destroyed farmland and infrastructure, it is likely that the population was not fully recovered until almost 200 years later according to Molénat. He bases his estimates on the number of vacant properties in the city well into the thirteenth century.

Toledo was a culturally mixed space after its capture by Castile after 300 years of Muslim control, exemplifying the Iberian *medina/urbs* where people from different faiths, languages and cultures lived side by side. Within the city itself, from the late eleventh century onward, urban markets, housing, wells, towers, and gardens were shared by people of three faiths and several languages. Surviving Arabic language property sales records from the twelfth century allow us to see who made up a neighborhood, how they interacted and what the effect was.

The composition of the Toledo population can be dissected in both linguistic and religious terms. Toledans practiced three religions, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Toledan Christians could be divided between those who followed the Mozarabic rite and the Roman rite. While Castile officially adopted the Roman rite before the capture of Toledo, Toledan Christians were allowed to continue the Mozarabic liturgy in existing churches, while new churches in Toledo, including the Cathedral, practiced the Roman rite. It is not clear how great a division this was in the Arabic-speaking Christian community, but there is evidence of some tensions created by the dominance of the Roman rite, or at least the dominance of the French purveyors of it early in the twelfth when the clergy of the Cathedral of Toledo rebelled against their French Archbishop.[302] But for the purpose of understanding cross-cultural communication, acceptance or rejection of the Roman rite is perhaps less important than other markers of cultural identity, such as names, descriptions, and language preference. As for the other religions of the city, the Castilian kings of Toledo nurtured a form of religious tolerance, continuing the tradition of the earlier Islamic leaders, so mosques and synagogues were allowed to persist but not permitted to dominate, similar to the treatment of Christianity and Judaism under Islam.

The language situation, like the religious, was diverse in Toledo. The conquered population was initially Arabic speaking, regardless of religion, as was the dominant notarial

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302 Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne aux XI et XIIe Siècles,* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949, 42-43.

culture.[303] Intellectual and religious writing was also predominantly in Arabic for Muslims and Christians, with Jews using both Hebrew and Arabic.[304] With Castilian rule, a new written language, Latin, and several new spoken languages, all Romance based, were introduced to the city. A number of the new immigrants to the city spoke Castilian Spanish and a large number spoke some version of French. The impetus for the large French speaking population was twofold. After French monks had established a close relationship with the monarchs of Castile, including Alfonso VI, the French abbot of Sahagun, Bernard of Sedirac, was rewarded with the archbishopric of Toledo. Bernard, and his French successor, Raymond, populated many cathedral offices with their countrymen.[305] The second impetus for French immigration was the conquest of Toledo itself, since Alfonso VI had been assisted in his success by military alliances and recruitment amongst French nobles and *milites.* Consequently, twelfth-century Toledo received a substantial number of French immigrants, either as soldiers of fortune or clerics, so much so that an area near the Toledo cathedral was called the *arrabal Franco*, or *al-rabat alfaranj* in Arabic.

In addition to these immigrant populations from the north, the Toledo population was augmented by immigrants from al-Andalus, particularly Jews and Christians, fleeing the turmoil created by invasions from North Africa. Toledo, because of its *fueros*, its lively economy, and its large existing Arabic speaking population, attracted a good share of these al-Andalusi refugees.[306] As a result of all of these migrations, in the twelfth century Toledo's population presented a complex mix of religious beliefs, ethnicities, and languages, both spoken and written. How did these populations with different languages interact? Did they integrate and how so? Did

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303 Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Los Mozarabes de Toledo en los Siglos XII y XIII,* Madrid: Catedratico de Litteratura Arábigo Española en la Universidad de Madrid, 1978, 3 vols., (LMT), doc.1.

304 David Wasserstiein, "The Language Situation in al-Andalus," in *The Formation of al-Andalus,* vol.2*,* 1998, 3-18.

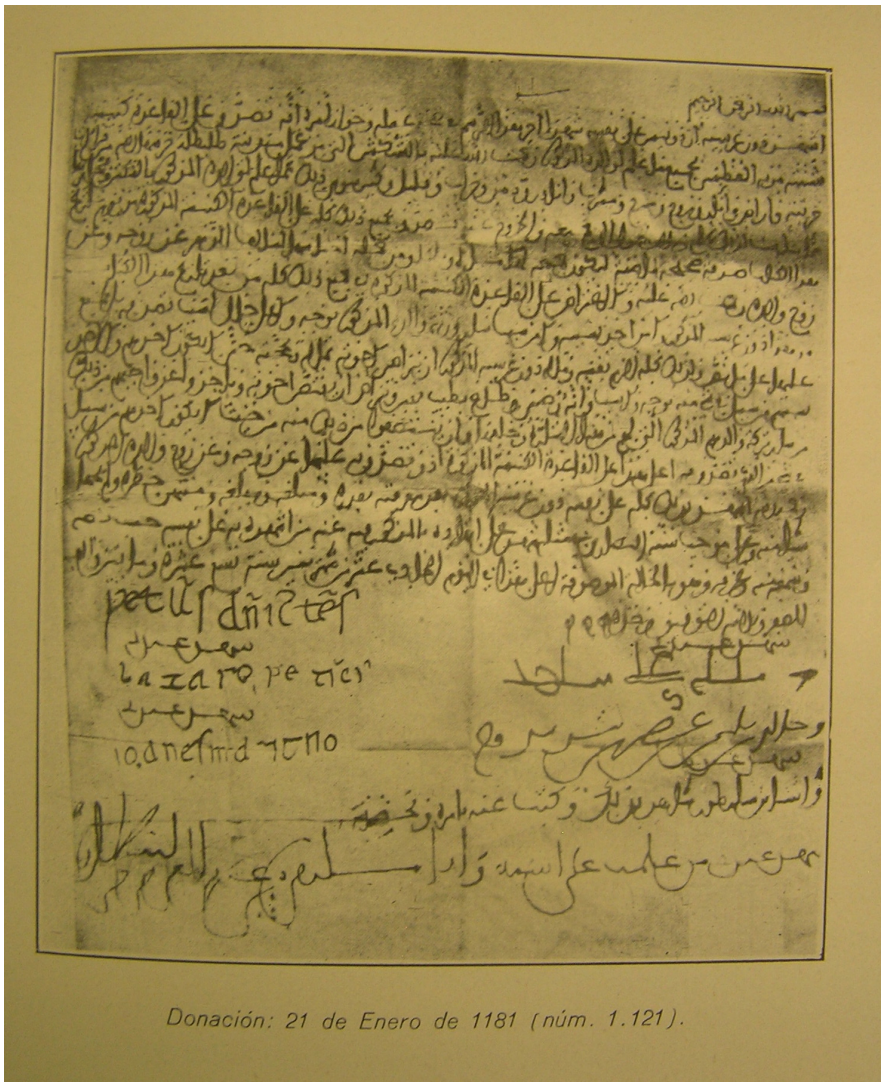
305 José Luis Senra "Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church," *Speculum* 87.2 (April 2012). 376-412.

306 Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède du XIIe au XVe Siècle*, 42-43.

they form one community or did the city become a network of smaller communities separated by language and religion, with only nodes of interaction? Reconstructing the population, structures and businesses of one of the city's neighborhoods, the area around the Toledo Cathedral (highlighted in Map A-4), gives us some insight into the answers to these questions.

The Arabic language sales records are a plentiful source of information about a neighborhood. A person's name could be included in a sale for several reasons. He/she could be the seller or buyer; he/she could own an adjacent property or have some relationship to a property mentioned; or, he/she could sign as a witness to the sale. While it is difficult to ascertain religious practice and ethnic origins based solely on charter evidence, by using a consistent methodology based on the evidence available a reasonable estimation can be made for the purpose of assessing patterns of integration. Since Christianity was the majority religion, participants are assumed to be Christian unless there is clear evidence to indicate otherwise. For example, anyone with the name Mohammad or identified as Muslim or Muslima, as Moro or Mora, or as Almoravid, is categorized as Muslim rather than Christian. Likewise, a participant is assumed to be Arabic speaking unless there is evidence that he or she is from a non-Arabic speaking area or has the need of a translator, intercessor, or translation. People who had signed as witnesses in Arabic are assumed to be Arabic speaking. While these assumptions may over count Christians and over count Arabic speakers, and therefore undercount the diversity, these faults do not prevent us from seeing a minimum measure of the diversity in the cathedral neighborhood of Toledo.

Figure 4-1 One of the Arabic language documents from Gonzalez Palencia's Los Mozarabes de Toledo en los Siglos XII y XIII, Madrid: 1926



Arabic notarial practice had two characteristics that help in mapping the integration of a neighborhood. First, the names used often provided information about lineage, occupation, and place of origin. The most common name construction for Arabized individuals of some means was:

> [1st name] *ibn* [father's name] *ibn* [another family/clan name] (possibly additional male ancestors) [*nisba* indicating place of origin/clan/occupation]

The name of the less Arabized might be constructed using Arabic to describe various pieces of similar information, but without the classic structure, using instead Arabic words like *walid* (son) followed by the father's name and/or *min* (from) followed by the place of origin *al-Barcelone* and/or a descriptor like *al-Faranji* (the Frank) or *al-Yahudi* (the Jew).

> [1st name] [father's name] *min* (from) [place of origin] [ethnic origins or religion or other descriptor]

By contrast, the names of people essentially non-Arabized would be constructed simply through transliteration, from their native Romance construction to Arabic script, as best comprehended by the scribe.

Second, the property purchased was defined by a precise formula that included the identification of the adjacent structures to the east, west, south, and north of the property. In combination, this information gives us a glimpse into the ethnic and religious composition of the cathedral neighborhood as people move in and out of the neighborhood across the twelfth century.

Although the labels are far from precise, in order to present a visual picture of the integration of the neighborhood, residents have been categorized within groups, by religion, language, and culture and color coded as follows for the maps in Appendix 1:

- Mozarabic Christians from the area of Toledo (ORANGE) were Christian, Arabic speaking, Arabized culturally but also possibly Castilian speaking.[307]
- Arabized Christians from non Christian areas (RED) were Christian, Arabic-speaking, and very Arabized culturally.

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307 In *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède,* Molénat describes the Mozarabs of Toledo as 'very Arabized' by the 11th century, p.39.

- Muslims from Toledo or other areas of Iberia (GREEN) were Muslim, Arabic speaking, and very Arabized culturally.
- French Christians (BLUE) were Christian, particularly Roman Christian, Romance language speaking, mostly a version of French Langue d'Oc, and initially non-Arabized culturally nor Arabic speaking.
- Castilian Christians (PURPLE) were Christian, likely Roman Christian, Castilian speaking, and initially non-Arabized culturally nor Arabic-speaking.

After a sale in 1134, the Castilian Pedro the Tailor of Segovia and the Frenchman Balduin Galer and his Mozarab wife, Munina , shared an inn. Their neighbors to the north and east were the potters and shops of the king, likely filled with Muslims and Jews in service to the crown.[308] Balduin and Munina also shared a corral (a large enclosure or courtyard often situated between houses and shops) with the Castilian Mito Ariash and his son Ferdinand until they bought the other half from Mito in 1139.[309] (See Maps A-5 and A-6)

In 1160 the Mozarab, Don Shabib ibn 'Abd alRahman sold his house to the Andalusi immigrant, Don Domingo al Dalil and his wife Justa bint (daughter of) Martin the pastrymaker, likely a Mozarab from the Toledo area. (Map A-7) Their neighbors to the north, east, south, and west were Salvator, a Castilian, Miqail Safuro, a Toledo Mozarab, and the heirs of Mohamad al Mouaq, Muslims.[310] In all three instances, at least three different categories of people lived side by side, sharing courtyards and inns, living on the same street.

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[308] LMT, doc.20. Molénat discusses the Mozarab Alpolichèn family that Balduin became a part of as part of a petit nobility around Toledo, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède,* 65-66 and 87-88.

[309] LMT, doc.27. Although at a later date, Molénat identifies the Arias family as being in the service of the monarchy of Castile.

[310] LMT, doc.63 and Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède,* 47. Don Dominqo al Dali is described as al-Mustarib in the document. This description was generally reserved for recent arrivals from al-Andalus in twelfth-century Toledo, since the existing Mozarab population, while Arabized, had also mingled with non-Arabs long enough to be somewhat culturally distinct by this point according to Molénat.

While one might expect that segregation would increase over time, this does not occur significantly in the cathedral neighborhood in the twelfth century. In 1178, the canon Don Raimond bought a house next to Pedro Khalil, a Toledo Mozarab and Juan Domingo, a Castilian. In the same year he bought an inn next al-Rabahi al-Muslim.[311] In 1167 and 1170, Don Niqolas, himself a Frenchman assoaciated with the Cathedral, bought from Dominga and Shula, a mosque, something they likely inherited from their father, Salvator. The mosque was adjacent to the houses of two Muslims on the west and south, Mariam al-Muslima and the family of Apersia. To the east of the mosque was the house of Pedro ibn Hakim, another Mozarab. Eventually, Don Niqolas converted the mosque into an *establ* –the Arabic origin word rendered in English as stable--and bought a house for himself nearby. (Map A-8) [312]

Intermarriage between groups played a role in the formation of community across linguistic and religious boundaries in Toledo. Since intermarriage is only apparent when the names provide clues to ethnic identity, intermarriage is probably under counted in this analysis. Even so, intermarriage is evident in the twelfth century records, particularly between immigrant men and Mozarab or Muslim women. Dauna Balensya, from al-Andalus, was married to Pelayo Petrez, a Castilian, when they sold their vineyard near Toledo in 1119. In a pair of sales (also described earlier), an intercultural couple, Balduin Galiar, a Frenchman, and his wife, Munina, a Toledo Mozarab, bought half of an inn and later bought more property in the same area.[313] (Map A-9)Several of the witnesses to these Arabic-language transactions were also French, Huber al-Faranj, Hubert Belenk, Baumin al-Faranj, Renal[d] Bon[h]omn, and Herbo (likely Hervé) al-Faranj, al-Faranj meaning 'the Frank' in Arabic.[314] All of them signed in Arabic, as did all the

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[311] LMT, docs.136 and 138.

[312] LMT, docs.82, 83, and 141. The Christian ownership of mosques occurred in other towns such as Huesca, since, like churches, mosques could be valuable property with income streams for its owner. This does not appear to be the case with this mosque but rather it was valuable for its location, at least to Don Niqolas.

[313] LMT, docs.20 and 27. Petrez is identified as of Castilian origins by Molènat, 63.

[314] Although 'al-faranj' comes to mean 'foreigner' that is more likely due to experiences in the Middle East Crusader States than experiences in Iberia.

witnesses to this sale, but one. In 1165, another Frenchman in a mixed marriage, Alardo al-Afranj and his wife, Moreshkita, a Muslim, bought a house from the sister of a *confrere* of the Cathedral of Saint Mary. (Map A-10) Their new neighbors were French, Castilian, a descendant of a Muslim, (Ramond Beladi son of Jeffrey Morabiti), and a Mozarab, *al vazir al Qadi,* Don Rodrigo Dominges.[315]

In 1170, another Mozarabic woman, Shula bint Salvator, who had been married to a Frenchman named Gaston (possibly from Gascon, an area of southern France with long associations with Iberian kingdoms), sold her half of a mosque she had co-owned with her sister, Dominga, and which they had inherited from their father.[316] (See Map A-8, 1170 Sale) The mosque was being purchased by Niqolas, an archpriest of the cathedral, having bought the other half earlier from Shula's sister, Dominga. While, unlike Balduin and Munina's transactions, neither Alardo and Moreshkita's or Shula's sales included French witnesses, intermarriage brought people from different linguistic and ethnic identities together, intertwining the different segments of society, Frenchman, Mozarab, Muslim, and Castilian through a web of affinal relationships.

In addition to intermarriage, there were also physical structures and businesses in the cathedral neighborhood that created a shared space for the activities of daily life. Corrals, (Arabic *qoral,* an enclosed space between houses and shops), were often owned by multiple people, by an institution, or sometimes no owner was specified.[317] (Maps A-12 and A-13) In any case, the corral was likely a shared space in which neighbors interacted, particularly if ownership was shared or it was unspecified or owned by an institution like the cathedral. In one instance, one of the neighbors had built a structure in a corral that he did not own at the time of construction. When he later bought the corral, the sale agreement explicitly excluded the

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315 LMT,doc.75. It is possible he was only of French descent & Morabiti referred to some association with the currency, *morabitin.*

316 LMT, doc.82, this mosque had been inherited by the sisters from their father, Salvator.

317 LMT, docs.27, 75, and 141.

structure he had built since he already owned it.[318] In addition to these localized structures there were also larger public structures in the neighborhood that were used by all residents, such as wells, for water and for waste, and a bath house.[319]

In similar fashion, businesses used by all inhabitants created interactions in daily life and helped bridge linguistic and religious differences among inhabitants, building a shared sense of community. When Estefan de Sete sold his house it was described as being near the herbalist's shop (139). Similarly, the inn that Don Raymond bought from Lazaro ibn Sancho, the tavernkeeper, was near the blacksmith's shop. The Tannery House bought by the abbess of San Clemente was described as near the bathhouse of Fero. The King's potters' shops were on the north side of the inn and corral that Balduin and Munina bought.[320] Other structures were simply referred to as shops (*hanut* حانوت) which were likely used by the barber, mat makers, pastry makers, tanners, cloth makers and dyers mentioned as participants, neighbors, and witnesses in the sales, all whom made up the bustling commercial life of the neighborhood.

The results of this comingled community can be seen in a hybridization of identities represented in notarial forms in the Arabic sales records. Since the documents examined were primarily written in Arabic, it was Arabic notarial traditions that dictated the overall structure of the documents, the information included, and the phrasing of the witness clauses. Over the course of the twelfth century, however, some Latin notarial forms and phrases were adopted into the Arabic notarial forms and Arabic phrases and forms were adopted into Latin names and phrases.

Initially, all of the signatures to the Arabic sales were in Arabic, without exception. In 1121, however, Didacus Albariz signed his name in Latin script to a document presented entirely

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318 LMT, doc.27.

319 In her work on the women in reconquered Iberia, Heath Dillard describes how the time was divided in shared bath houses so that they could be used by different genders and religions. This may have also been the case for the Toledo bathhouse, although it is not mentioned in the Toledo *fuero*.

320 LMT, doc.20 refers to both 'shops' and shops of the King's potters. LMT 27 refers to just shops.

in Arabic. There is no explanation of why he signed in Latin, but some have argued the Latin signatures in Arabic documents were generally a result of Churchmen participating in Arabic transactions but preferring Latin for their signature even if they also knew Arabic script.[321] This is certainly the case with the purchase in 1132 transacted by the monastery of San Clemente, where the transaction itself was written in Latin, using the notarial structure of an Arabic sales document, that is, the purchaser's name and description first, the seller's name and description second, a description of the property, its neighborhood, and city next, followed by an outline of the borders on the east, west, south and north of the property being sold, and ending with the price, the currency, the location and the date of the sale.[322] All of these were followed by the list of witnesses to the sale, with all of the churchmen signing in Latin. On the other hand, many of the other witnesses to this Latin document, including one Muslim, signed their names in Arabic.[323]

Other witnesses with Latin signatures, however, did not have obvious ties to the church. Moreover, several who signed their names in Latin used Arabic naming structures so it is likely they understood Arabic as well. In 1134, when the Castilian Pedro the Tailor sold his inn, three witnesses were listed in Latin script with the word *testes* after their name, a construction common in Latin documents: Arias Moniç, Micael Alfuranic *and* Mikael iben Geli, meaning Michael son of Geli. Similarly, a witness to Vital de Toulouse's purchase of part of the *al-qarya* of Lorita later that same year was Mikail iben Martin, signed in Latin letters.[324] Combining romance names, Arabic structure and Latin script, these witness signatures present a hybrid

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321 Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Toledo,* 38-40.

322 LMT, doc.18.

323 In Latin: Pelai Dominiciz, testis; Ego Mathe … , testis; Maior Nuniz, testis, Elena Nuniz testis. In Arabic: Yahya ibn Martin signed; 'Abd Allah ibn Daud witnessed; Juan ibn Kheir; Juan ibn Banayesh; and Felis ibn Nasr witnessed; 'AbdAllah ibn Abu Nasr ibn 'Abd Allah witnessed; and Julian ibn 'Abd Aluh …..; and Julian ibn Muslim witnessed; 'Abd Allah ibn Almajath; and Beidro ibn 'Abd Allah; and Benjanat ibn Shaqran witnessed; and Abu AlKheir ibn Matruf had written; and Juan ibn Sida saw and had written.

324 LMT, doc.22.

identity in their choices. Whether Mikael iben Geli and Mikail iben Martin were Castilianized Mozarabs, no longer willing or able to sign in Arabic, or they were Mozarabized Castilians or Frenchmen who had adopted Arabic name structure but did not know how to write in Arabic, is not discernible, but it is clear that their cultural identity was mixed. Another hybrid Latin signature, however, belonged to a man with not only an Arabic name structure, but also a partially Arabic name, Micael iben Heza A[l]Zafar who signed as witness for two sales in 1178, the only witness in Latin.[325] Micael's identity likely combined an Arabic-speaking heritage, with an affinity for Latinate culture, possible because of religious or family ties.

Most Latin witnesses encountered in the Arabic documents, however, did not use Arabic naming structure. Rather, they used a Romance structure of a single name or multiple names, often followed by the Latin word 'testes' or witnessed, after their signature. By the mid-twelfth century, this Latin phrase 'testes' was occasionally used in Arabic signatures in Arabic documents. When Sebrian Petres and Domingo Shalbator witnessed a sale in 1149, the transliterated teshtesh (تشتش) was written after their names. When Balduin Galeo and Munina bought their inn, fellow Frenchmen, Huber al-Faranj, Herbert Belenk and Baumin al-Faranj witnessed the sale by signing in Arabic. When the couple later bought an adjacent corral, the Frenchmen Ranal[d] Bon[h]omn and Harbo alFaranj likewise signed with Arabic signatures. In 1125, a witness to an Arabic language document singed his name, Petro Bellidiz, in Latin script but also appended the transliterated Arabic phrase ***hua cutiba hanno*** ("and wrote this"-the signature) after the Latin word *testes.*[326] In Arabic documents the phrase was usually '*shahd wa kutiba 'ano,* or ′ 'saw and signed this.' So in these documents across the twelfth century, we see a hybridization of both notarial forms and name structures going in both directions, Latin to Arabic and Arabic to Latin.

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[325] LMT, docs.136, 138.

[326] LMT, doc.1012.

Another borrowed convention that found its way into Arabic script was the Romance name construction denoting a geographic place of origin or association. For example, in the transliteration of the name Pedro de Toulouse, Arabic documents used the standalone letter *dal* to represent the Latin or Romance 'de' meaning from or of a certain place. This adaptation was first only used with non-Iberian place names, such as Toulouse. For places familiar to the scribe, in Iberia or the Muslim world, a *nisba* was used instead, as in *al-Malaqi,* for someone from Malaga, or *al-Barceloni* for someone from Barcelona. In other circumstances, the Arabic word '*min',* meaning 'from' preceded the name of the city or area of origin. The 'd' structure, however, spread to Iberian names when, in 1153, the seller, Pedro of Cuenca, was written in Arabic as Beidro d Senka.[327]

The result of this integrated community in Toledo has been described as a Mozarabization of the French and Castilian immigrants. To be sure, initially at least, the Arabic speaking population of Toledo was by far dominant. The Arabic documents, nevertheless, while certainly confirming an absorption of Arabic language and customs by these immigrants, also depict a more complex picture. Clearly, acculturation was occurring in both directions with the Mozarabs adopting language and conventions from their non-Arabized cohabitants as well, creating a hybrid culture. In this mixed environment, identities could be complex. As naming one's children is in some essential way an expression of identity, Miqail ibn Baqi's children, Hossein, Julian, Sancho and Pedro, emblematize the complex, hybrid identities of twelfth-century Toledans.[328] As a result of the poly-glot, poly-ethnic geography of Toledo, where people of different faiths, ethnicities and religions lived as neighbors, side by side, using the same streets, courtyards, shops, and bathhouses, a hybrid culture flourished which we see reflected in notarial practice.

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[327] LMT, doc.44.

[328] LMT, doc.24.

Huesca and the role of gender: Latin nuns and their Arabophone neighbors

An aspect not explored yet is the unique role that women have often played in intercultural zones. In the late twelfth century, Queen Sancha of Aragon constructed a monastery for women under the auspices of an active military order on the road to Compostella. She bequeathed elite Muslim and Jewish skilled workers to the women living there. Her son, Pedro II, continued the tradition, including a bequest of the son of his father's *alfaquin*. The very structures of the monastery, with an Arabo-Persian style roof over Byzantino-Sicilian paintings, alongside an imposing military style tower watching over an enclosed congregation of contemplative nuns, embodied cultural and gender syncretism.[329] A combination of their gender (female), their class (noble), and their patronage (royal) allowed the *dominae* of Sigena to cross these cultural divides without disturbing the existing political hierarchies**.**

Pluritopic consumption: acculturation in action

In art history, scholars have recognized a 'pluritopic' pattern of medieval Mediterranean art production along with the development of a pan-Mediterranean courtly culture, where portable art objects, in particular, such as books, fine cloth, small statues and precious objects, were exchanged by elites through gifts, trade, and booty across the Mediterranean. This pan-Mediterranean exchange created a shared taste for similar luxury items across cultures. These desirable luxury items came generally from the East or were imitating styles from the East, 'the East' being either Byzantium or Persian/Abbasid regions.[330] In this shared court culture, Roger II (1130-1154), the Norman King of Sicily, could be portrayed in one setting enrobed as a Byzantine Christian emperor and in another setting as an Islamic Abbasid caliph; the former,

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[329] Peter Linehan The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the 13th century and The Spanish church and Society, 1150 to 1300.

[330] See Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusi Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean,* Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," in *Art History,* Vol. 24, No. 1, Feb. 2001, 17-50, and Anthony Cutler, "Misapprehensions and Misgivings: Byzantine Art and the West in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in Medievalia, 7, 1981, 41-77.

located in a church, embodied his religious authority while the latter, located in a palace, his political power.[331]

In her examination of the use of Andalusi textiles by Castilian nobility and royalty, María Judith Feliciano describes this acculturation of taste as transformative in that the objects (specifically, in her study, Andalusi textiles with Arabic designs and inscriptions) ceased to be, in the eyes of the users, foreign at all, but instead became part of the native vocabulary of power and piety. Castilian royalty chose to be buried in fabrics with Islamic, even Qur'anic, inscriptions, not because they longed to imitate Andalusi or Islamic practice, but because they wished to be associated with 'everything fine' according to Castilian norms. Within this construction of the Castilian elite's love of Andalusi-style, Arabic-inscribed fabric is an implicit, if not explicit, equation of Andalusian with the ultimate in 'fineness'.[332]

Syncretism at the monastery of Sigena

These cross-cultural currents can also be found in the architecture of the Royal Monastery of Sigena as Elizabeth McKiernan Gonzalez has noted. In looking at the architecture and art of this royal, monastic foundation, Mckiernan Gonzalez argues that the late twelfth-century monastery represented a "link to pan-Mediterranean forms and reflected the cosmopolitan nature of the kingdom [of Aragon]."[333] The monastery was constructed between 1184, when an existing facility used by the Knights Templar, including a church, was swapped for some property owned by the Hospitallers, and the early thirteenth century, with most of the building taking place before the death of its primary benefactor, Queen Sancha, in 1208.[334] The

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331 Hoffman, " Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," (p.29), discusses these two presentations as part of a courtly language of power, the one in the Church of St. Mary's of the Admiral and the other in the Capella Palatina.

332 María Judith Feliciano, "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual," p. 114, in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile,* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004, Cynthia Robinson, ed,, 101-131

333 Eileen McKiernan Gonzalez, "Local and Imported: Conjunctions of Mediterranean Forms in Romanesque Arágon," *Perigrinations:International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art,* Vol.II, Issue 3, 2009, 19-54, 20.

334 Ibid., 25

overall style of the buildings is Romanesque, a style found across Southern France and Northern Iberia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it was in Sigena's chapterhouse that the most syncretic art forms were expressed. The chapterhouse contained pointed diaphragm arches, of eastern origins but also used in contemporary gothic architecture, frescos in a Sicilian Byzantine style, topped with a Mudejar (or Iberian Arab)-style ceiling, ornately decorated in geometric patterns of inlaid wood (see Fig. 1 below).[335] This structure incorporated uniquely structured diaphragm arches that were connected by a flat ceiling, which allowed greater space for the elaborate *mudejar artesonado* decoration that, along with the Sicilian-Byzantine style frescos, gave the Sigena chapter house its stunning syncretic splendor. As the granddaughter of Alfonso VI, conqueror and occupier of the great Andalusi city of Toledo, and the wife of a successor of Alfonso I of Aragon, the Battler, conqueror and occupier of the splendid *taifa* capital of Zaragoza, Queen Sancha would have been very familiar with a broad range of Mudejar styles, drawing from a pluritopic Iberian architectural vocabulary. But, while she may have drawn some inspiration from the examples of several of her female ancestors for the incorporation of mudejar forms and frescos in a royal monastery, she was also drawing on the skills of artisans living around the monastery.

[335] Ibid., 20. McKiernan attributes the syncretic style to Aragonese expansionist ambitions, as Pedro II would push the borders of Arágon outward in his short reign.

Figure 4-2 Mudejar artesonado and frescoes**,** Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigena (Josep de Gudiol in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigena: Romanesque Painting in Iberia and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

The ceiling's artistry was most reminiscent of the style of woodwork in the *taifa* of Zaragoza, captured in 1118 from the Almoravids. Interestingly, similar to the prized shrouds of Castilian kings, the chapter house decoration included Arabic calligraphy of Qur'anic phrases, such as "Sovereignty belongs to God," and "Blessings and Prosperity," phrases that would have been recognizable as such and understood by the many Arabophones who worked for and with the nuns. The ceiling frescoes, on the other hand, reflected a more remote influence in both painting style and subject matter. The style has been identified as typical of Byzantine style Sicilian fresco paintings, possibly inspired by travel related to the betrothal of Sancha's daughter, Costanza, to the king of Sicily. The subject matter of the frescoes juxtaposed the Old Testament stories of Genesis with the life of Christ, a unique pairing that also represented some religious syncretism since the Old Testament stories were familiar to Jews and Muslims, as well as Christians.[336] Alongside the figures in the Sicilian-style frescoes, the marginalia reflected local

[336] McKiernan, 41. The similarity of these paintings with the illustrations of the Winchester Bible in England has engendered a good deal of speculation on the artist(s), the exact date of their work, and their course of travel. For the story of the associations with the Winchester Bible illustrations, see Walter Oakshott, *Sigena: Romanesque*

Mozarabic taste. In essence, when the nuns of Sigena gathered regularly to conduct the business of the monastery, they were surrounded by Arabic writing, *mudejar* artisanry, and pan-Mediterranean/pan-religious iconography in their chapterhouse. While these were likely perceived as appropriate expressions of Aragonese piety, they were also testament to an association of finery with Arabic forms and to Iberian syncretism.

Cultural context of the founding of Sigena

In order to understand the meaning of Sigena's relationship with the Arabic-speaking non-Christians in their midst it is helpful to explore the vision of its founder, such as we can tease it out. The establishment of the Hospitallers' *Monasterio Real de Sigena* by all accounts was due to the herculean efforts of Queen Sancha (d. 1208), daughter of Alfonso VII of Castile(r.1126-1157) and his third wife, Ricca of Poland.[337] She married Alfonso II of Aragon (r.1162-1196) with whom she had three children, Constanza, Queen of Sicily, Leonor, Countess of Toulouse, and Pedro II of Aragon(r. 1196-1213), all of whom patronized Sigena. Sancha's family had a history of monastic patronage that included several female relatives who similarly founded and formed houses for men and women.[338] Sancha conceived of Sigena as a women's house, along the lines of Fontevraud, a relatively autonomous house with women, *dominae* or *sorores,* in charge and men, *fratres*, to provide the services the women could not or should not provide for themselves, such as performing sacraments or conducting business away from the monastery. During her lifetime, Queen Sancha acted as the de facto prioress, directing the construction of the monastic buildings, selecting appropriate new *sorores* for the community, and

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Paintings in Iberia & the Winchester Bible Artists, London: 1972, 90-97 and Otto Pacht, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Iberia," *The Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 103, No. 698, (May 1961), pp.166-162.

337 Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena: its Early Stages, 1188-c.1210," *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,* edited by Anthony Luttrell, discusses Sancha's repeated requests to the Hospitallers' commander to acquiesce to her unique conception, 119

338 McKiernan-Gonazalez,, 23-25.

acting on the monastery's behalf in administrative transactions.[339] While Sancha organized the house along the lines of Fontevraud she established it within the order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers), rather than within the Cistercians, or even Fontevraud itself. The nuns of Sigena lived a contemplative rather than active life, unlike most of their male brethren of Hospitaller's houses, and some of their sisters, who engaged in care for the sick, the poor and pilgrims.[340]

Sigena was not the first Iberian Hospitaller house for women, as Alfonso II had given the castle of Grisén to some Hospitaller women in 1177, but, with Sigena's founding, all the Hospitaller women in the kingdom were to be under it.[341] If we assume that Sancha's objectives were to provide a royal burial site with the most potent prayers for royal souls; to provide a suitable place for her daughters/female descendants who would not be willingly and suitably married ; and to express, in monumental terms, her vision of Aragonese royal power, then her choice of the Hospitallers as the vehicle makes some sense. There was increasing ecclesiastic pressure to have new monastic foundations fit within an existing hierarchical structure, an order, particularly women's houses.[342] To achieve these aims, Sancha may have wanted maximum independence for her creation, also making the Hospitallers the best option, precisely because it was initially a unique creation within the order.[343]

A royal foundation for women could not remain entirely independent of the increasingly hierarchical and centralized monastic orders. For the type of independence and expansive

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339 Luis Garcis-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena, 1188-c.1210, *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 1988, 113-152.

340 Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson, "Introduction: a Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages," *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,* 1-42.

341 Idem.

342 The restriction on new orders and the requirement that new foundations fit within existing orders was enshrined in Lateran IV in 1215, but there was increasing anxiety over women's place in houses with monks and women's enclosure in Lateran III in 1179.

343 Although women had been part of the Hospitallers since its inception, no other house was organized with contemplative nuns assisted by brothers and all under the direction of a prioress. See Lutrell and Nicholson, "Introduction: a Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages," *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,* 1-42

building program Sancha envisioned she would need the support of the church as well as her husband for her undertaking. The crown of Aragon, especially Alfonso II, had strong existing associations with the Hospitallers, including Hospitaller women, as the gift to the house of Grisén demonstrated. Sancha negotiated with the Hospitallers for the towns of Sena and Sigena for her new monastery, and arranged an exchange of properties with the Templars who held the churches of these two towns. These arrangements were completed in 1188 when at least rudimentary buildings existed in which to house the first *sorores* of the monastery.[344] The house was endowed with additional properties from Alfonso II, professing dominae, and Queen Sancha, with the promise of ongoing support from the Hospitaller commandery of Amposta, Sigena's immediate superior in the Hospitaller organization.[345]

Given Sancha's aims and the Church's increasing discomfort with women in an active monastic role, the simple rule of the Hospitaller's, which emphasized their roles as a hospice for pilgrims, the sick, and the poor, and a champion against infidels in Iberia and the Levant, required significant modification. The Rule of Sigena, as written by the Bishop of Huesca, himself a Cistercian of Poblet, was mainly concerned with procedures for celebrating the divine hours. Although the rule is rather long, many sections dealt with the processional entrance to and exit from the church, processionals and the singing of psalms, stipulating in detail the tasks, order, and positioning of the participants. The offices outlined in the rule were *priorissa, sacrista, magistra, cantrix, paraphonista, helemosinaria,* and *cellararia.* The title of *magistra* is referred to several times in the plural, as is the *cantrix,* indicating that multiple sisters could act in these roles at one time and emphasizing the importance of chanting the liturgy and education to the life of the sisters. In Sigena's charters during its first 20 years the titles of *priorissa, subpriorissa, sacristana, infirmaria, cantrix,* and, *clavigera* are all used to describe charter participants indicating they were functional offices, rather than just transient roles. Among the

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[344] Ramos, "Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena," p.122.These first buildings were likely the transferred structures of the Hospitallers and Templars, rather than newly constructed buildings.

[345] Ibid., 120-122

brothers, the offices mentioned were *prior, preceptor, claviger,* and *subpreceptor,* all of whom were subservient to the prioress.[346] The organization of the monastery was not, in theory, very different than other contemplative houses. The commander at Amposta approved the rule and had a limited role in selecting a prioress and in discipline, tasked with approval of the prioress after she was elected by the *dominae* and with intervention in serious discipline issues. He was, however, forbidden from removing or introducing *sorores.* His role in discipline concerned that which was too serious or could not be resolved within the monastery, but there are no instances in the first twenty years of any such matters being brought to the commander.

In short, Sigena's rule lays out in detail the canonical rites and rules of behavior for nuns whose primary duty was prayer, but says little about their other activities, apart from a few references to behavior in the *refectorium* (dining hall), using the *domus necessaria* (toilet), and other necessities of daily life. We can gather that they expected to need more than one teacher (*magistra*) but we do not know the extent of their educational activities or for certain the recipients of it. In Sigena's rule, *magistrae* (teachers) are most frequently mentioned in connection with the *puellae* (girls), leading them in and out of the sanctuary, but who these *puellae* were is not clear, whether they were girls intended for a religious life or a broader group of girls seeking education. There is no mention of tending to the sick, except the sisters themselves, to pilgrims or to the poor, even though the rule describes roles of helemosinaria and bloodletter (*minutrix)*. We know they had an *infirmarium* but we do not know the extent of their tending to the sick other than themselves. In a section regarding the procedures for bloodletting a sister, the *helemosinaria*, acting as both a treasurer and infirmary attendant, was to pay the *minutrix* and provide her with a dish and bandages, implying that there was no one within the monastery with those skills. [347]They had an *helemosinaria* and collected donations in a

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346 Agustin Ubieto Arteta, ed., *DSG*, Valencia: Anubar Ediciones,1972, (DSG hereafter) Document 8.

347 *DSG*, doc.8, p. 35, "Sit autem domus minutoria in infrimaria in qua helemosinaria det scutellas, fiatque lavari det etiam precium minutrici."

helemosinarium but these may have been only their contribution to the general Hospitallers' mission, the money being sent on to the order's central headquarters, Saint-Gilles.

Although the house was initially exempted from episcopal oversight, Sancha acquiesced to a form of dual supervision by both the Hospitallers' regional commander and the archbishop of Tarragona after a dispute over episcopal boundaries put Sigena in the latter's realm. If Sancha's ultimate goal for the house was to maintain as much independence as possible, the dual oversight may have been a strategy familiar to anyone who has ever had their child play one parent against the other. Based on her interactions with both the archbishop and the commander, Ramos argues that was indeed her strategy. [348]

The Hospitallers and other military orders had been established in Iberia since the 1130's. They were the recipients of patronage from the kings of Castile-Leon and Aragon. Alfonso I of Aragon had famously left his kingdom to the military orders of the Hospitallers, Knights Templar, and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, although his bequest was never honored. His successor, Raymond Berenguer IV, made significant donations of property to each military order, including the bequests of Sena and Sigena which ultimately formed the heart of Sigena's patrimony. The task of the commanderies of military orders in the Castile-Leon has been described as three-fold: provide soldiers for the crusade against Islam, provide colonial outposts to aid in stabilizing frontier populations, and create political space for the expanding kingdoms in which they existed by acting as an extension of royal political power. As powerful centralized entities, the commanderies and their masters were particularly useful in marshalling resources toward these goals.[349] While brothers were part of the Sigena organization, they functioned mainly as support staff to the women there, and were likely fewer in number. So Sancha's creation of a women's Hospitaller house in Sigena could not really assist in all of these goals, but

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[348] Ramos, "Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena," p. 148.

[349] Carlos de Ayala Martínez, "Les commanderies des ordres militaires en Castille et León au Moyen Âge. Etapes d'une évolution, » *La Commanderie : Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval,* Paris : Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002, 75-90, 75-76.

it did create a commanding presence in an area of Aragon that was previously underutilized and containing significant populations of Arabized Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Therefore, Sancha's choice of the Hospitaller's as a governing structure for her royal monastery may have been a political as well as personal preference, allowing the most opportunity for the *dominae*'s independence and aligning with the interests of the Aragonese crown. Understanding the nuns' cross-cultural involvement requires looking more broadly at the geographic and cultural context.

Cross cultural associations

Many of the charters of Sigena from its first twenty years attest to a multifaceted relationship between the nuns and their Jewish and Muslim neighbors. Much of this relationship was directed by Queen Sancha as the monastery was being built. Her son, King Pedro, his wife, Marie of Montpelier, and his sister, Eleanor of Toulouse continued the pattern. The level of interaction evidenced by the Sigena documents is unique among Christian monasteries outside of Toledo with a non-Arabic speaking community, even among Hospitaller houses.[350] That is not to say that interactions with Jews and Muslims were not a matter of course for monasteries in many parts of the Iberian Peninsula, but that the types of relationships, the variety of social statuses and occupations of the participants, and the number of individuals involved was greater at Sigena than elsewhere.

Part of this interaction might be explained by the monastery's location. Aragon's twelfth-century conquest of Muslim territory had left it with one of the largest Muslim populations in the Latin West, rivaled only by Castilian Toledo and its environs. This Muslim population remained, enduring the loss of majority status in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, weathering the forced conversions of the fourteenth century, until the eventual expulsions of the

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[350] The Cistercian houses of Poblet and San Clemente de Toledo both have Arabic language documents in their archives. Indeed, the sisters at San Clemente often conducted business in Arabic but this was due to a large Mozarab population in Toledo. While some of the Arabic speaking people who interacted with Sigena were Mozarabs, many were clearly not.

seventeenth century.[351] Sigena, while not on the frontier of Islamic territory, was in an area that, although conquered as much as eighty years before Sigena's founding, retained a significant Arabic speaking population documented as late as the 14th century.[352] The monastery, equidistant from Huesca (conquered 1096) Barbastro (conquered 1101), and Zaragoza (1118), was also on a major thoroughfare carrying people from the Aragonese Mediterranean ports to western Iberian destinations, including the pilgrimage destination of Compostella.

In addition to the remaining Muslims, large populations of Arabic-speaking Christians and Jews were also absorbed with Aragon's conquests. Pedro I and his conquering successors, Alfonso I, Ramon Berenguer IV and Alfonso II, extended treaties of surrender which encouraged inhabitants to remain, regardless of their religion, allowing even Muslims to practice their religion and to live under their own law without interference, as long as they remained loyal. In recognition of the value of these new urban economies incorporated into to their realm, throughout the twelfth century Pedro and his successors extended, affirmed, and confirmed the rights of the city population to be free from certain taxes as long as they lived in the city.[353]

In the twelfth and early thirteenth century the monastery had more interactions with the residents of Huesca than any other city. While Huesca, in an attempt to segregate the non-Christian population, had Jewish and Muslim neighborhoods, the charter evidence clearly shows that not all Jews and Muslims lived apart from Christians, or Christians apart from Jews and Muslims, as the case may be. The minority religious inhabitants interacted with Christian inhabitants, both Arabic-speaking and Romance speaking. In 1134, King Ramiro the Monk of Aragon (1134-1137), affirmed the right of Franks and *cavalleros* to buy property from Jews, Muslims and villains of the king, and, if they held it for one year without calumny, they would

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351 Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134,* Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1995, 279

352 See Kathryn A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Iberia*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, and Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land.*

353 Stalls, *Possession the Land,* 285-291 and Carlos Laliena Corbera, ed., *DMH, 1100-1350*, Huesca: Excmo. Ayuntamiento, 1998, Documents 6, 7, 9, 12 and 13.

have it as hereditary right.[354] At the same time he promised to contribute 1000 solidos a year toward building and repairing the city walls. [355] Both of these acts demonstrate the royal concern with maintaining a loyal and protected population in the city, regardless of religious composition, concerns that met with apparent success.

The archives of the Cathedral of Huesca contain twelve documents in Arabic, dated between 1145 and 1269, which document transactions involving the Arabic speaking population similar to the Toledo documents examined above.[356] Unlike the Toledo documents, however, the Huescan Arabic documents are dominated by Muslims. Even so, these documents show association and intermingling of people of three faiths, people from "al-Maghreb" (Morocco), Aragon, and France, people with different languages, in twelfth and thirteenth century Huesca.

Categorizing people in these documents involves similar difficulties to the Toledo documents. If we again make assumptions based on names, name structures, along with religious affiliation when specified, we can group the people listed into the following categories (with similar color coding as Toledo) for the maps found in the Appendix:

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354 DMH, document 4 "Similiter dono per singulos annos mille solidos ad dillo muro adobar, d meas redditas de Osca."

355 DMH, doc.4, "Similiter, si aliquis ex vobis [Francos] comparaverit de meos villanos et maruos sive de judeos casas, terras, vineas aut aliquid de sua hereditate, quod habeatis illum liberum et francium, sive francos, sive cavalleros, et si hereditatem aliquoam emeritis de aliquo homine, sive de cavalleros, sive de mauros etiamd de judeos, and tunueritis illam uno anno et uno die et quae non sit vobis colniata, non respondeatis inde a nullo homine d hoc seculo, sed omni tempore habeatis illam ad vestram propriam hereditatem, salva mea fidelitate."

356 Among the ten documents dated before 1230, there are six land sales, two land exchanges, and two commercial loans. The earliest loan, in 1145, involving only Arabic speaking participants, most likely Muslims, was a promise to deliver 1000 tiles, with no defects, the following May in exchange for a sum.[356] The second loan, completed in May/June 1177, was an agreement that, in exchange for 115 dinars of qanashir silver in circulation in Huesca, 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Yahya al Maghrebi (the Moroccan) and Mofaraj ibn Mas'oud Qarqanalesh would repay Galindo Bellido, sacristan, or whoever presents this document, one half of the harvest from ibn Samira's *jenan* (garden), payable in August and January. Several things are of note in this agreement. First, the security is transferable and operates as a sort of futures trade, exchanging a set amount of money now in exchange for a percentage of the harvest later, providing a means to invest in agriculture without land ownership. (Is this unusual for this period?) Second, while the borrowers were Arabic speaking with an Arabic name structure, one with an association with a Muslim territory (Morocco), the lender was a Christian sacristan, who may also have known Arabic. There is no mention of a second document in Latin, or of an Arabic speaking stand in for Galindo, so presumably he was comfortable transacting business in Arabic. All of the witnesses for the loan were Muslim and the transaction follows Muslim law.

- Mozarabic Christians from the area of Huesca are orange, were Christian, Arabic speaking, Arabized culturally but also possibly Castilian speaking.
- Arabized Christians from non-Christian areas are red, were Christian, Arabic-speaking, and very Arabized culturally.
- Jews from Huesca or other areas of Iberia are dark green, were Jewish, Arabic speaking and very Arabized culturally
- Muslims from Huesca or other areas of Iberia are light green, were were Muslim, Arabic speaking, and very Arabized culturally.
- French Christians are blue, were Christian, particularly Roman Christian, Romance language speaking, mostly a version of French Langue d'Oc, and initially non-Arabized culturally nor Arabic speaking.
- Aragonese or Castillian Christians are purple, were Christian, likely Roman Christian, Romance language speaking, and initially non-Arabized culturally nor Arabic-speaking.

Many participants have Mohammad somewhere in their name, like Yusef and Galati ibna (sons of) Mohammad 'Aish who exchanged their field in Almeriz with the brothers, Don Martin and Don Juan ibna Garsia Sancho, known as from Seresh (*min Seresh*). Christians and Jews were often explicitly labeled as such in the transactions, while Muslims were not. The sales and exchanges of property in Huesca used very similar notarial conventions and structures to those of Toledo. Although the order was different than Toledo, the Huesca documents always identified the bordering properties and structures with their owner's name by direction, south, west, north and east. While the Huesca sample is much smaller than the Toledo documents, it shows similar intermingling of property owners of different languages and religions, although, perhaps due to the small sample size, not the intermarriage.

The purchase of two *terras* in 1154 involved Ismail ibn ‘AbdAllah ibn Massoud ibn Thorthal al-Ansari (buyer) and his brother Masoud ibn ‘AbdAllah (seller), both Muslims along with their neighbors to the north and south. (See Map A-14) Their neighbor on the east and south side, however, was identified as Martin, Christian (Nasarin) from Almuniente, a community southwest of Huesca. Running along the western border of the *terras* was a *saqya jamia*, a communal irrigation canal.[357] These irrigation channels required cooperation between residents for upkeep and distribution of water on customary schedules, so the presence of irrigation channels shared by neighbors of different religions and languages necessitated intermingling and communication. While Martin could have been a Mozarab, that is less likely given his name structure, which lacks any of the characteristics of Arabic naming structures and is more akin to Romance language customs—a *prenom*, (Martin), combined with a description (a Christian from Alumuniente). Of the seven witnesses to this inter-familial transaction, all but one carried Mohammad as a part of their name.[358]

An exchange in 1183 revealed a more integrated neighborhood as well as participants. The bishop of Huesca, Stephen (1165-1184), acting on behalf of the archdeacon, Bernad from Huesca, the treasurer (*sahib al mafatih*), exchanged land for the monastery of Santa Maria with Mohammad Yusef, a carpenter in Huesca. (See Map A-15) The bishop exchanged an orchard, with grapes and fruit trees, in the Almaida neighborhood of the city, for a strip of vineyard in the territory of AlAskar in Huesca province. The neighborhoods of both properties were more integrated before the exc,hange than after. Before the exchange, the vineyard of the monastery was surrounded by Arabic speaking neighbors, Muslims on the north and south, with whom they shared a road, and a Mozarab to the west. After the exchange, the area became more

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357 Jacinto Bosch Vila, “Los Documentos Arab del Archivo Catedral de Huesca,” *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos,* vol. 5/1, 1957, 1048, doc. 2 بجميع ساقية (communal irrigation channel). The Spanish word *acequia* is a transliteration of al-saqya.

358 In contrast with Martin, all of the witnesses, men of standing in the community, was identified by at least two levels of patrilineal heritage as well as a *hisba*, identifying clan or place of origin: al Sadafi, al-Ansari, al Tuyibi, al Ru’ayni, al Muradi, and al Umawi.

homogenous. Similarly, the area around the strip of vineyard obtained by the monastery in the exchange was more integrated before the exchange than after. Before the exchange, Mohammad Yusef's orchard was abutted by vineyards of the monastery on the east and west, by a vineyard of Per Albert, likely of French ancestry, on the north, and by the vineyard of the *beni SanJuana* (children of San Juan) on the south. The purpose of this exchange was possibly to make the areas more homogenous but it is hazardous to read too much into so few examples. The desire of the monastery of Santa Maria to have a more consolidated block of vineyard was a more likely motive for the exchange.

In another exchange, in 1203, two Muslim brothers, Yusef and Galati ibna Mohammad ibn Ayash exchanged properties with two Christian brothers, Don Martin and Don Juan ibna Garsia Sansh known to be from Seresh. (See Map A-16) Since this Arabic document refers to a preceding document written in "Roman script" with certain details of the exchange, it is unlikely that Don Martin and Don Juan were not able to comfortably transact business in Arabic, despite the presentation of their names in Arabic construction. The exchange was of two fields on either side of a communal irrigation canal. To the north of Don Martin and Don Juan's field was the field of Don Gillem, *al-franj* and to the south was the field of Dona Belinkara (likely Berenguer). The neighbors of Yusef and Galati's field were the field of Per del Sebiya (Seville) to the north, and the field of Dona Balencia (Valencia) to the south. The irrigation canal between the fields would have been shared by all, with a customary schedule for water distribution. Irrigation agriculture, as opposed to agriculture dependent on rainfall, required cooperation and constant maintenance of the infrastructure in order to remain productive. With irrigation and its expensive infrastructure, however, the economic rewards could be great, providing a strong incentive for community cooperation.[359]

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359 Geroge T. Beech, *The Brief Eminence and Doomed Fall of Islamic Zaragoza: a Great Center of Jewish and Arabic Learning in the Iberian Peninsula during the 11th Century,* Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2008, 32-33.

In a 1202 sale, the archdeacon of a religious house, referred to as *al-Qoroshta al-Dar* or Christ House, Don Juan de Sherez, purchased a field from Zuhri, daughter of the Alcalde of Albero, a town thirteen kilometers south of Huesca. (See Map A-17) The field was next to one already owned by the same Christ House and was bordered on the south by a field owned by Don Xemeno of Artosilla, the *alferiz* of Alfonso II. It was bordered on the north by a local road, and on the east by a communal irrigation canal. The transaction was carried out in Arabic, with no reference to a Latin document, implying all of the participants were comfortable transacting business in Arabic. The transaction itself is described as 'according to the law of the Muslims,' a phrase common throughout the Arabic language property sales of Huesca, and the witnesses were all Muslim men from important families—the Tuyibi(Tujibids) and the Ansari—despite the immediate vicinity of the property being completely Christian after the sale. Prior to the sale, the shared irrigation infrastructure and local road, would have led undoubtedly to cooperation and interaction amongst the interreligious and inter ethnic group. It is possible that Don Xemeno and members of the Christ house were Mozarab but Don Juan, the archdeacon is likely not, since his name was written in a non-Arabized way, using the Arabic letter *dal* for the Latin sound 'd' to transliterate the *de* used to connote a city of origin or association, (دشراس).[360]

Finally, in 1215, there were two sales as part of a transfer of property, a house in Huesca, from a Muslim woman, Na'imati bint Mohammad, and the daughter of a Mozarab from Zaragoza, Dona Johana bint Pedro Torres. While Pedro Torres, the father of the buyer, often acted on behalf of the nuns of Sigena in their dealings with Arabic speakers, he did not participate in this purchase by his daughter. Instead, two leaders of the Jewish community, described as leaders of the state, likely meaning in the service of the king, acted as go-betweens

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360 ACH, doc. 6. Per note, Joad de Seres is frequently mentioned in Latin documents of the period as canon and elemosinarius. See *Historia de la Catedral de Huesca* (Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, Huesca, 1991) and *Los obispos de Huesca durante los siglos XII y XIII* (DGA, Zaragoza, 1994) by Antonio Durán Gudiol for more information. This manner of writing Romance names has already been discussed regarding the Arabic documents of Toledo, where it was initially used for people from places unfamiliar to the scribe, that is, non-Iberian locales. The one exception to this is a person from Cuenca, clearly an Iberian locale and a place with which a Toledo scribe would have been familiar, but this example occurs after decades of the use of the 'd' for primarily French individuals.

in the purchase, first purchasing the property from Na'imati and then selling the property immediately to Dona Johana. The neighborhood before and after was culturally mixed but predominantly Muslim and Arabic speaking.

Overall, based on the limited sample represented by these Arabic documents, the settlement patterns of Huesca appear more segregated than Toledo. Even so, there is ample evidence of inter cultural interaction and acculturation. In seven out of the eleven documents before 1250 the participants are from different religious and linguistic backgrounds, often without an intermediary or a parallel transaction in Latin. When the bishop of Huesca, Don Esteban exchanged property with Muhammad ibn Yusef, on behalf of the archdeacon Bernad for the monastery of Santa Maria, there was no Latin document of the transaction. Not only were the main actors of different religions and languages but the guarantors and witnesses were as well. Simon of the Christ House acted as guarantor for the archdeacon in the transaction and Ahmed ibn Muhammad was the guarantor for Mohammad. The witnesses were similarly balanced with the exchange agreement signed by, at the behest of, and in the presence of, Garcia Johanes, Jusiticia, and Muhammad ibn 'Ab al-Malik al Umawi.[361]

When Arabic language exchanges involved people of other religions and languages the structure, phrases and legal structure used remained the same. When Johan de Sharash, archdeacon of Christ House bought a field from Zuhri, daughter of the alcalde of Albero, the transaction opened with the Qu'ranic phrase, 'bismillah al-rahman, al-rahim' (In the name of God the merciful and compassionate) and the transaction itself was described as "under the law of the Muslims."

All of the transactions between 1183 and 1238 involved interreligious exchange. Uniformly, they involved a non-Muslim purchasing land from or exchanging land with a Muslim. While the exchanges could seem less directional, of the two exchanges, one allowed the

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[361] ACH, doc. 5, كتب عنه بامره وبحضره

Monastery of Santa Maria to obtain the vineyard between two of their existing vineyards, providing them with a larger, contiguous property. In such circumstances, it is likely that the exchange was driven by the monastery, the non-Muslim side of the exchange. So, while there is a pattern of intercultural interaction, the property is mostly going in one direction, from Muslim ownership to Christian ownership. Some of this bias could be the result of the selection process whereby the documents that were of benefit to Christians were more likely to survive. This does not, however, explain why the sales and contracts before 1183, which are intra-Muslim transactions, also survived. It is likely that there was a trend towards consolidation of property in Christian hands that made sellers out of Muslims more often than buyers. There is also a tendency toward homogenization of neighborhoods over the course of the 50 years, unlike Toledo over the same period.

The Latin documents from the era also describe the interactions of people of different faiths. Neither Ramon Berenguer IV's confirmation of Pedro and Ramiro's acts regarding Huesca in 1137 nor Alfonso II's confirmations in 1162, 1170, and 1192 mentioned the sale of Muslim and Jewish property again, or made any mention of Muslims or Jews whatsoever.[362] Still, in the settlement of a dispute over water between Huesca and the town of Arascuas in 1192, Jews and Muslims were acknowledged as part of both the city of Huesca and the population of Arascuas. The participants in the settlement were described as "Pedro Aressa, zalmedina, Ugo Martin, merino, Pedro Avencia, justicia, Garcia Pedon and all other good men of Huesca, present or absent, as much Christians as Jews or Saracens."[363] Representing the inhabitants of Arascuas in the settlement were a number of *infanzones*, who were described further, in explaining the history of water usage in the area, as 'our ancestors, as much Christians as Saracens, who similarly were dwelling in Arascuas."[364] King Alfonso II himself participated in the settlement

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362 *DMH*, docs. 5, 7, 8, 9.

363 *DMH*, doc.10.

364 Ibid. "Nos Petro Arressa, calmedina, et Ugo Martino, merino, et Petro Avencia, justicia,et Garcia Pedon et alii probi hominess d'Osca, presents et abssentes, tam christiani quam judei et sarraceni…" and "et cum aliis

and confirmed the agreement, underscoring the importance of the stability of the area to the realm.

In this environment of interreligious interaction, the monastery of Sigena forged its own relations with its Arabophone neighbors. A few years prior to the water dispute between Huesca and Arascuas, Queen Sancha gave an *hortus* to ten prominent Jewish men in the city with the provision that they build houses there and collectively pay an annual rent to the monastery of Sigena of 110 solidos, collectively. In the body of the document, the men were listed by name, and sometimes by occupation, with a separate list at the end defining the rents by household. The *hortus* had been the property of one of the Sigena nuns, Sancha de Abiego, who by this time had become abbess. The Jewish recipients of this gift were listed as, "Don [V]ita Alfaol, Don Zalema Alfaol, *medicus*, and Don Abnadaian, and Azec aben Ardut, and Jucef Tobi, and his relative Azac, and Azmel Latroner, and Zacri Samarel, son of Azac, and Don Juan Aborrabe and Azac aben Latroner, tannador." While no explanation is given for this transaction, information in this document and others reveals that the participants had useful skills and were from the high ranks of the Jewish *aljama.* The witnesses to the act were Ximino de Artosella, Pedro de Arressa, the zalmedina of Huesca, Pedro de Aviena, a *justicia,* Garcia Pedon, and, for the Jews, Iasua abin Saprut, Al-azar, and Jossep, another *medicus*. The presence of two men described as *medici* among the relocated tenants and witnesses of this exchange between Arabophone Jews and the Romance speaking monastery and another person identified as a *tannador* indicates that these were elites in the Jewish community. Another of the participants, Don Abnadaian, was identified in a later document as a *magister* and *alfaquin* of Sancha's deceased husband, King Alfonso II of Aragon.

The boundaries of the *hortus* were defined by the neighbors on the east, south, west, and north, exactly as in the Arabic records of land transfers. The surrounding *horti* were owned by Peter Vicarii, Guillem Sartori and the Church of Saint Vincent, so these twelve Huescans were

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inffancionibus de Arascos similiter cum vicinis eiusdem ville, …..cum antecessoribus nostris tantum christinis quam cum Sarracenis qui modo in Arascos habitantibus… "

not being moved to a Jewish ghetto. On the contrary, it seems they were being located amongst Christians, as neighbors to a church, although the religion for Peter and Guillem is not specified. Consequently, it appears that Sancha undertook this interfaith exchange in order for the monastery to benefit from the skills of these Arabized Jews, not to segregate them from Christians.

The complexity of interfaith interactions in the area of Huesca becomes more evident when we see these same people participating in other transactions in both Latin and Arabic around Huesca. The hortus exchange witnesses, Pedro de Arressa, Pedro de Aviena, and Garcia Pedon, all participated in the settlement of the water dispute of 1192 between the city of Huesca and the village of Arascuas, described above, and presided over by Sancha's late husband, Alfonso II. In addition, another witness, Don Ximino de Artosella, was listed as one of the *seniores* in the king's entourage in August of 1192 when he confirmed Huesca's *fuero*, or confirmation of rights.[365] He also was listed as the owner of a neighboring field in an Arabic language purchase in 1202, when Don Johan de Sharash, archdeacon of Christ House, transacted business with Zuhri, daughter of the Alcaide of Albero. [366] In 1215, Azac aben Latroner, one of the recipients of Sancha's gift of the *hortus* in Huesca, along with a relative of Azec aben Ardut, participated in two transactions, a purchase and a sale of some property near Huesca. The two were described in the Arabic transactions as "leaders of the state." These two transactions also involved a daughter of one of the *fratres* of the monastery of Sigena, Pedro Torres.[367] Both of these property exchanges were recorded in Arabic (and presumably transacted in Arabic) and described as enacted according to the law of property sales under Islam, and particularly, "its terms on the return of damages and eviction between Muslims."[368] In the first transaction, the

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365 DMH, doc. 9. He is listed as "Ximino de Artusella [senior]in Saranena."

366 ACH doc. 6, ابتاع دون يوان د شراس الارسديقنى من القرشطه عنه و عن الدار لذ كورة من زهرى بنت القئد من اللبرالفدان الذى فى حومة اليرع قبليه فدان لدون شمانه من أرطشيالة.

367 ACH, docs. 8, 9.

368 ACH, docs. 8, 9 .

Jews,"Abul Hasan Salomon b. Arthut (brother of Azak Aben Arthut) and Abu Ishaq b. Latrunir (Azac aben Latroner in the Latin document), *al-nadirin fi hoquq al-Sultan,* (the king's administrators of law) bought a house from Na'imati *bint* (daughter of) Mohamad b. Khalef b. Mallun that she owned in the western suburb of Huesca (*Ushqa*). Both sides of the transaction had supporters participating. The Jews purchasing the house were supported by the presumably Muslim *amin,* Mohammad *amin* Mohamad b. Khalef al-Qalahuri; Na'imati bint Mohamad b. Khalef b. Mallun, also presumably Muslim, "received the [fiduciary] protection of Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Marini."[369] On the very same day and with the same witnesses, this same house was then sold to Dona Johana *bint* Pedro Torresh from Saraqusta, *al-nasraniah* (Christian), by the *arbab* (leaders) of *al-dualat* (the state), *al isra'liin* (two Jews) AbulHassan Don Shulomon b. Arthut and Abu Ishaq b. Latronir.[370] These Jewish "leaders of the state," as well as the *frater,* Pedro Torres, and his daughter, Johana, were all likely Arabic speaking and all had ties to the *dominae* of Sigena. This transfer of a house in the western area of Huesca from a Muslim woman, Na'imati bint Mohammad b. Khalef b.Mallun, to a Christian woman, Dona Johana bint Pedro Torres, was facilitated by the mediation of *al-Israiliin,* AbulHassan Don Shulomon b. Arthut and Abu Ishaq b. Latronir, Jews of high standing in the Jewish *aljama* and in the royal administration. Together these transactions involved Jews, Muslims, and Christians, all Arabophones, several of whom were in service to the Christian king, Alfonso II, and also tied to the monastery of Sigena, conducting business together under Islamic law.

Pedro Torres of Zaragoza, father of Johanna, the ultimate purchaser of the house in western Huesca, was a prominent brother of the house of Sigena, appearing in several other documents, although without a title or office other than *frater*. In 1209, he acted on behalf of the monastery in collecting a debt of 2000 solidi owed to the Queen at the time of her death, which

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[369] ACH, doc. 8, ابتاع ارباب الدولة أبو الحسن شلمون بن ارذوط وأبو إسحق بن لطرنير الناظرين فى حقوق السلطان أيده الله والاين محمد بن خلف القلهورى من نعيمتى بنت محمد بن خلف بن مأون التى فى عصمة أحمد بن إبراهيم المرينى جميع الدار التى لها بربض الغربى لوشقة

[370] ACH, doc. 9 ابتاعت دونة يوانة بنت بيطره طورش سرقس النصرانية من آرباب الدوالة أبو الحسن دون شولمون بن أرذوط وأبو اسحق بن لطرنر الإسرائلين النظرين

she had bequeathed to the monastery. Although the religious and ethnic background of the debtor was not mentioned, a group of Jews acted as witnesses to the repayment agreement, Jucef Almucatil, Avenbenist, and Avenzabarro, making it likely that the debtor was also Jewish and Arabic speaking. Earlier the same year, Pedro de Torres was one of the participants on behalf of the monastery when the nuns gave Samuel Azebi, his wife, and their children their liberty, granting them three vineyards in exchange for an annual payment of twenty gold coins. While Samuel's religion and ethnicity were not mentioned in the transaction, Pedro de Torres most often participated in acts which involved Arabic speaking people, Jewish or Muslim. He was himself, perhaps, a Mozarab or a converted Jew or Muslim. Whatever his history, he helped the monastery bridge the linguistic divide in order to incorporate Huesca's communities of non-Christians into the society of Sigena.

Some non-Christians interacted with Sigena in exchanges involving feudal protection. Between 1190 and 1216, the monastery of Sigena received a number of Jews and Muslims, some of fairly humble means, others with titles and land. In 1202, for example, the monastery received Lupo Antelli, Sarracen, with his wife and all his things, "under our security and protection and care and our defense." In exchange, Lupo gave the monastery thirteen pounds of wax at Christmas every year.[371] As the document is incomplete, the actions promised by the monastery to protect Lupo's goods from other people are not articulated. Presumably they were the same as other feudal protection arrangements, to defend them by force. In this way, the nuns acted like other lords, indifferent to the religion or religious origins of their vassals.

There are only two other occasions when an explicit agreement for protection in exchange for payment was made by the nuns of Sigena in this period. In the earlier of the two, also an incomplete document, the brothers, Guilelm and Sancio Garon, gave grazing rights to Beatrice, the monastery's prioress, to its preceptor, Guilelm de Bezons, and to all the *dominae*

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371 DSG, doc.34, *"recipimus te Lupum Anteli sarracenum, et uxorem tuam et omnes res tuas, mobiles seu immobiles, sub nostra emparanza et protectione et custodia et nostra defensione, omnibus diebus nostra.."* and, "ego, Lupus dictus dare, singulis annis, ómnibus diebus domina rgina, in festo Natali Domini, tredecim libras de cera domui Sixena.".

and *fratres* of Sigena, along with 40 solidos or two pairs of cows every year. In exchange, the brothers themselves were received "under [the monastery's] protection in this world," as *fratres.*[372] In 1215, Bernard de Gestau offered his body and soul and 100 solidos to Sigena for his burial and for his acceptance under the monastery's protection as *confrater* or lay brother.[373] In both instances, the recipients of protection were received by the monastery as either *fratres* or *confratres.* The arrangement with the *Sarracen,* Lupo Antelli, possibly a one-time slave, seems unique in that the protection was granted without any religious connotation or title being conferred, yet offering a similar benefit in exchange for an annual payment.

Still other non-Christians' services were given to the monastery by Sancha or her son, Pedro II. In the same year that Lupo made his arrangement with the monastery, the Jew, Aaron al-Bala, was given to the monastery by Pedro II, along with his wife, children, and all his property, *mobiles et immobiles,* that he had or might acquire. Although the property was not described, it was stipulated that "whatever [Aaron and his family] had made they will be held to make for the house of Sigena, and the *dominae* serving God there, in perpetuity."[374] In this arrangement, there is no protection offered to Aaron, his family, and their property, simply a transfer of some level of royal servitude to the monastery so that, "any service or exaction for the king or by the king for all time this Jew and all his children with all that they have and will have

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372 DSG, doc.19, "…Domna Beatrix, gratia Dei priorissa domus Sexene et Guillelmus de Bezons, preceptor recipimus vos Guilelmum Garona et Sancium, fratrem vestrum, et omnia vestra sub protectione nostra per secula cuncta. Et ego Guillelmus Garona et Sancius frater meus, nos et filii nostri propter istam protectionem nobis ac defensionem facitis, per unumquemque annum domo Sexene et dominabus ac fratribus eiusdem loci 40 solidos tribuatim dabimus quamdiu vixerimus, vel duas vacchas binias."

373 DSG, doc. 69, «Ego Bernardus de Gestau dono et offero Domino Deo et Beate Marie Sanctique Johanni Babtiste meum corpus et animam videlicet Sancte domui Sexene, et dominabus ac fratribus ibi Deo servientibus. Ita ut siti datus et offertus predicte domui Sexene cum centum solidos modo quibus sunt dati et persoluti propre domne priorisse eadem domo, domne Ozende, et centum solidos ad obitum mee mortis cum meo corpore, et domus iamdicte ac domne et fratris haveant maipsum et omnia mea in sua protectione, sicut est consuetudinem domus Hospitalis pro confratre.»

374 DSG, doc.38, "quicquid mihi facere habent et facere tenentur faciant a modo prefate domui de Sexena et dominabus ibi Domino servientibus perpetuo. »

in all the kingdom, the House of Sigena would have, hold and possess by hereditary right."[375] While this service could be described as slavery it seems closer to serfdom in practice, since Aaron and his family owed understood services but had property of their own and might acquire more. Even though he and his property were transferred to the monastery *de jure*, or perhaps rather, *in dominio,* they may have retained use of them *de facto,* that is, had usufruct of the property as long as they performed or paid the nuns the expected service.

Another example of this type of servitude is found when, in her last will and testament, Queen Sancha bequeathed a number of Jews in Alagon, Huesca, Zaragoza, Calatayud, and Daroca to the nuns of Sigena.[376] One of these Jews was subsequently freed by Sigena, at the Queen's instructions, and was given three vineyards in return for an annual rent. These bequests of people provided Sigena with labor, whether in the form of services and exactions owed from a servile status or from rents collected on valuable farmland, vineyards, and orchards. Neither of these later transfers, however, stipulated the protection that Lupo received for his annual 13 pounds of wax. While the wax could seem like an insignificant contribution to the monastery, the centrality of prayers to the mission of Sigena meant that wax for candles was a significant expense. At any rate, the limited descriptions of these exchanges of services, rents, and goods make it difficult to define the status of the participants, what level of servitude they owed, what level of independence they had, as well as what standard of living they enjoyed.

In still another example, perhaps the most interesting, Sancha's son Pedro II gave another Jew with his wife and children to the nuns of Sigena in 1210. The Jew is described as *magister* Vital*,* son of a certain *magister* David Abnadean, the *alfaquinus* of Pedro's father, Alfonso II. David Abnadean had been one of the recipients of the *hortus* Sancha had given earlier to a group

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375 DSG*,* doc.38,"domus de Sexena omni tempore ipsum iudeum et omnes filios suos cum universis que habent et habuerint in omni loco terre mee, habeant, teneant et possideant iure hereditario."

376 DSG, doc. 48. Perhaps a precedent for this type of testament was the will Alfonso the Battler in which he gave "whatever rights I have in all the men of my land, whether clerical or lay….poor, Jews, and also Sarracens with such law and custom as my father and my brother and I had or may have held" in all of his territory to the Hospitallers, Holy Sepulchre, and Knights Templar., *HSJ*, doc.1277.

of Jews in return for an annual census. The Arabic *al-faqhi* refers to a learned man, a teacher, particularly of Islamic law, although the term is used at some point for *medici* in the Jewish community.[377] According to Pedro's donation charter, Vital and his family were freed from any royal or local power, specifically from the power of the local *aljama* of the Jews amongst whom they lived, as well as from the power of the zalmedina, the alcalde, the repositer, the maiordomus, or the senior, in essence exempting them from any obligation in the city or the realm except what they owed to the nuns of Sigena. The transfer specifically included all *instrumenta* that Vital had from Alfonso II or from any other person. Given Vital's description as a *magister* and his father's description as the *alfaquin* of Alfonso II, the *instrumenta* most likely referred to books and other academic paraphernalia, such as astrolabes or other instruments, or perhaps medical apparatus, although neither Vital or his father, David are ever described as *medicus*. Through this gift, the contemplative nuns of Sigena became the *dominae* of a learned, Arabic speaking, Jewish scholar.

This gift used the same language of giving (*donare)* described above concerning other people but several aspects of this donation charter suggest a very different type of relationship between Vital and the nuns of Sigena. First, the document itself is longer and more detailed and more restrictive than other gifts or confirmations from Pedro or Sancha. It speaks in very explicit terms about exemptions from other overlords in a way not seen in other transfers of people. In addition, the nuns were prohibited from exchanging or substituting another Jew or Christian or Saracen for the *magister* and his family.

> We (Pedro) want on the other hand and establish that you, Prioress and the sisters and brothers of Sigena, present and future, will not be able to make any exchange

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377 The word *alfaquin* as it is spelled in Pedro's Latin document is a transliteration and absorption of an Arabic title. *al-faqih* from *fiqh,* to understand, to learn, which references a scholar, particularly an Islamic law scholar. In this instance, the title-bearer was clearly Jewish but probably fluent in reading, writing, as well as speaking Arabic and probably had a high level of mastery of Arabic law and other learning. The title is eventually used for medical doctors as well as royal advisors with Arabic language skills. Dozy, Vol. II, p.l 274, col 2, " Voyez sur l'importance de ce titre au Maghrib, Macc. I (Anàlectes sur l'histoire et la literature des Arabes d'Espagne, par al-Makkari, vol. I) 136, 18-20- Maitre d'école."

> or substitution of them or theirs for any other Jews, or Christians or Saracens or any sale or any barter.[378]

Finally, Vital's father, David Abnadean, as one of the Jews given the *hortus* in Huesca by Queen Sancha a decade earlier, was clearly of high status in the *aljama* and served in Alphonso II's court. His portion of the rent owed on the *hortus* was one of the highest amounts, comparable to Azach ibn Latroner, who was described in Arabic documents as a "leader of the state" and higher than Zalema al-Faol, *medicus* (see Fig. 2).

Figure 4-3: Hortus of Huesca

Household	**Annual Rent**
Azach Abinardut	4 s. -1 d.
Bita Alfaol	5 s. 3 d.
Jacob ibn al-Chabit	5 s. 3 d.
Azach Abin al-Chabit	6 s. -1 d.
Zalema Alfaol	8 s. 1 d.
Zecri Samarel	10 s.
Azmel Latroner	13 s. 4 d.
Acach AbinLatroner, tannador	15 s. -4 d.
David Abnadaian	15 s. 6 d.
Jucef Tobi and Azach	18 s.6 d.

Not explained in the charter is what service the *magister* Vital was expected to provide for the cloistered nuns. Nonetheless, the importance of the service is clearly evidenced by the effort put forth in articulating the donation.

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[378] DSG, doc. 56, "Volumus preterea et statuimus ut vos priorissa et sorores et fraters de Sexena, presents vel fururos, non possitis de predictis iudeis vel suis unqualm aliquot cambium vel commutacionem facere vel eos pro aliquibus aliis iudeis vel christianis aut sarracenis vel pro aliqua desmparacione unquam vel aliquatenus commutare."

So why were Jews and to a lesser extent Muslims so involved with the monastery of Sigena almost from its inception? There are likely several answers to the question. One answer stems from the importance of their labor, rents, and land to the running of the monastery. They provided income needed for the building and provisioning of the monastery and they provided valuable knowledge and skills for administration of the monastery. The latter included the skilled artisans who helped build the monastery, notably its chapter house, and its mills. They provided needed skilled labor for the agricultural economy of Sigena and its environs. The former include those who received valuable orchards and vineyards in return for rents or other payments. They also, it seems, contributed in some way to the contemplative life of the nuns, such as the, *alfaquin*'s son and his *instrumenta,* and the various *medicii.*[379] While the nuns may have had specific needs for the skills of this *alfaquin* and the *medici,* regardless of their religion or origins, they could also represent a pantropic sensibility similar to the preference for Andalusi-style Arabic inscribed cloth for royal burial. That is, the *alfaquin* and the *medici*, with their knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew learning, were seen as the finest Aragonese men of learning available and appropriate for women of the *dominae* of Sigena's station. In simiar fashion, the artisanal and agricultural skills of the Jews and Muslims used by the nuns represented the finest resources available to Aragones noble women.

The existing relationship between the crown of Aragon and the communities of Jews and Muslims was one reason for such a sensibility. Their relationship went back to the first reconquest of territories by Aragonese kings, when Pedro I and then Alfonso I, the Battler, provided surrender treaties and *fueros* which encouraged Jewish and Muslim inhabitants to remain and immigrants from Almoravid and then Almoahad lands to settle by allowing them to practice their religion, live according to their own laws, and be protected in their right to hold land and other property. The terms of surrender provided by Alfonso I at Zaragoza were attractive enough to have been requested by the Muslim inhabitants of Tortosa when they were

379 DSG, doc.9, Jossep, medicus witnessed Sancha's gift of the *hortus.* DSG 37, in a letter to the prioress, Sancha refers to medici, who gave her information on the condition of one of the nuns, Domina Heche. .

conquered by Ramon Berenguer IV, much later.[380] The reason for this codified religious and ethnic tolerance was most likely pragmatic. Islamic law had developed a form of tolerance over its years of development as a minority group ruling a subject majority of different faiths, embodied in the treatment of the *dhimmi* in *dar al-Islam.* While Pedro I, Alfonso I, and their successors were likely aware of this precedent, they were also even more aware of the importance of maintaining a stable and loyal population in their conquered territories, both urban and rural. The ever-present risk of losing their hard-fought territorial gains to their competitors, Muslim and Christian, was a strong incentive to retain loyal populations. This practice of protecting property rights of religious minorities was maintained throughout the time of Pedro II. In two documents from 1208 conferring the right to hold annual and weekly fairs, Pedro II also reconfirmed the rights of the inhabitants of Huesca and Barbastro to engage in property sales, purchase, and mortgage with Muslims, Jews, and other men, both high and low, of the crown.[381]

Another pragmatic reason to engage with non-Christians was because they had skills either difficult or impossible to find amongst co-religionists. Although the *hortus* given by Queen Sancha is not described, the area around Huesca had many *almunia,* (from the Arabic *munya, munan, pl.)* a type of garden complex that combined agricultural use with fruit trees and other plants, including ornamental elements around a dwelling, and meant, literally, object of desire.[382] The horticulture around Zaragoza and Huesca had been developed under the *taifa* kingdoms to be among the finest in Iberia, spawning several Andalusi Arabic language treatises

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380 Stalls, *Possessing the Land,* 286-313.

381 DMH, docs.12 and 13. The wording in the two documents is almost identical. "It is permissable, furthermore, for you and your successors by reason of our concession and of permision (of ours) to buy and accept in mortgage freely and without any opposition or fetterence and by whatever other lawful manner to obtain to have and to claim for you the houses and whatever heredities of our Jews and Sarracens and of whatever other noble and humble men from you yourself according to who among you the said manner one or another anyone wants of possessions or other matter to have or obtain." While this implies that previously they were not able to enforce the terms of sale on Muslims and Jews, a situation born out by the use of the terms of sale of Muslims in Arabic language documents, it is still significant that Jews and Muslims were communities with acknowledged property rights and economic power throughout the twelfth century, and likely into the fourteenth century.

382 James Dickie, "The Hispano-Arab Garden: towards a typology," *Legacy of Muslim Iberia, Vol. 2,* Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed., Leiden: Brill, 1016-1035.

on horticulture.[383] When Ismail ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Massoud ibn Thorthal al-Ansari bought two fields of arable land with irrigation works for his father from his brother, the land was described as just to the south of the *almunias* of the dyer and the slaughter house owner.[384] A loan by the sacristan, Galindo Bellido, to two Muslims, ‘Abd al-Aziz ibn Yahya al Magrebi and Mofraaj ibn Mas’oud Qarqanalesh, of 115 dinars of silver was to be repaid by half of the harvest from a garden (*jenan*) in August and January. The *hortus* that Queen Sancha gave to the Jews, where they were to construct houses, could very well have been an *almunia* or *jenan* and the recipients’ knowledge of Arabic horticulture, or Arabo-horticulturalists may have made them desirable tenants for the monastery, more desirable than people without access to these books and techniques, perhaps.

A similar motivation to equip the monastery with the finest skilled labor available was present in other examples of intercultural interaction. In a letter written by Queen Sancha to the prioress of Sigena in 1191, she stated she was sending a Saracen, who was very skilled in mill construction, to the monastery.[385] In addition, the chapter house of the monastery, with its *artisando* roof and Qur’anic inscriptions was undoubtedly the work of Arabic-speaking, likely non-Christian, artisans providing highly desirable skills to enhance the contemplative life of the nuns. Just as these skilled Arab artisans had been useful and desirable for Sancha’s vision of the syncretic physical structure of the monastery, Arabic artisans were also desirable for running the productive and affluent monastic economy.

The monastery’s close associations with the Jewish *medici* and *magistri* similarly reflected the need for skills associated with the Arabophone Islamic world. While Sigena’s rule described a contemplative institution, the presence of these learned men amongst the nuns shows a desire by the nuns for access to the highest level of intellectual knowledge available. The desire

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383 Dickie, “The Hispano-Arab Garden,” 1023.

384 “Documentos Arabes del Archivo Catedral de Huesca,” doc. 2, 1154.

385 DSG, doc.10. "Etiam [Sancha Aragonum regina] mitto illum sarracnum pro construccione molendini, habet ad hoc prout dicunt habilitatem magnam, curate illum construere et edificare prout asignatum est.”

for men knowledgeable in Arabic medicine is perhaps most understandable. Whether the nuns were caring for the health of a broader population or only the monastery's inhabitants, the benefit of a *medicus* who was trained in the most advanced medicine of the era is obvious. The kings and queens of Aragon themselves regularly had *medici* trained in Arabic medicine amongst their court personnel. Therefore, that Sancha would provide similar care to the nuns who were to watch over the family mausoleum is not surprising.

The case of *Magiste*r Don Vital and his *instrumenta* is perhaps more difficult to understand. After all, for other aspects of knowledge one would assume that Christian nuns would be more in need of intellectual guidance from fellow religionists fluent in Latin. Instead, or, perhaps, in addition, the nuns were provided with a Jewish scholar reflecting an openness to, in fact a pursuit of, cross-cultural learning for the nuns responsible fro praying for the royal family's immortal souls. These acts explode assumptions about the ideology of conquest and cultural hegemony in medieval Aragon. These facts demonstrate that more value was placed on learning derived from Arabic sources than the religious beliefs of the *magister.* To use the framing of Feliciano's characterization of Iberian cross-cultural adoption, the Arabic or Hebrew learning of *magister* Vital was not perceived as Muslim or Jewish or Andalusi, but as Iberian and, perhaps, as royal, just as the Qur'anic inscriptions in the Sigena chapterhouse were seen as a natural part of the Iberian vocabulary of piety. In essence, Aragonese Christianity had been syncretized or acculturated to the competing Iberian monotheisms to the extent that they spoke with the same vocabulary.[386] If the education at Sigena was merely to train novices in the proper recitation of prayers, an Arabic scholar is unimaginable. But if the purpose was the education and enlightenment of the daughters of noble Aragonese families in the most advanced knowledge available in Iberia, the gift makes perfect sense. If the knowledge desired was broader than rote catechism, a teacher with the most advanced knowledge in the peninsula, a

386 In Toledo in 1125, for example, a Christian presbiter began his Arabic language will with the phrase "*bismillah al rahman al Rahim," "*in the name of God the compassionate and the merciful," the beginning phrase of almost all the *surah'*s of the Qur'an, immediately followed by a profession of his Christian faith, including his belief in the Trinity. See LMT, doc.1012.

person with the language skills to access Arabic texts, a *magister* Arabophone Jew, son of an *al-faqi,* would in that case be the optimal choice.

Conclusion: why the nuns but not monks?

What emerges from this example of the nuns of Sigena and its benefactors is a picture of both acculturation and empowerment. What is less clear is why these nuns were better positioned to cross cultural barriers than their male counterparts among the Hospitallers. Royal prerogative was likely a strong component of their empowerment. The crown's relationship with both Aragonese Jews and *Mudejars* was longstanding and complex. Iberian nobility and royalty had interacted on an intimate level with peninsular Arabic culture since at least the mid-eleventh century. In the plurotopic Mediterranean court culture, exotic artforms from other cultures could be naturalized in service to Iberian royal power without disrupting dynastic primacy. But while the nuns of Sigena were clients of the crown's patronage, they were not the same as the crown. Moreover, the ecclesiastic oversight of the monastery voiced no opposition to the monastery's extensive relations with non-Christians, despite increasing prohibitions from Rome on Christian relations with Jews and Muslims.[387] While no papal or episcopal communications with Sigena mentioned interactions with non-Christians, several documents refer to the maintenance of enclosure for the nuns.[388] It is perhaps the nuns' enclosure which made the complex multicultural world of Sigena's nuns appear benign to the pope, the archbishop and the Hospitaller commander.

Judith Bennett has argued that the division between the medieval and modern falls apart when you look at the economics of women's experience; in essence, women were largely excluded from the work transformations of the Early Modern period. The evidence of Sigena argues similarly, that, while the church was becoming less tolerant of religious difference on the

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387 See for example Lateran III and IV constraints as well as Dominque Iogna-Prat's *Ordonner et Exclure : Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam (1000-1150),* Paris : GF Flammarion, 2000, for the increasing intolerance and distrust of interaction with Jews, Muslims and heretics.

388 *DSG,* docs. 17, 32, and 43, for example.

eve of the Albigensian Crusades, for enclosed monastic woman in Iberia, cross-cultural exchange was still very much a reality. Women, however, were only one part of the social structure, and religious noble women an even smaller part. The overall narrative of cross-cultural relations may remain, as before, one of increasing hostility and growing intolerance of other faiths. But, at the same time, women were in this case a counterweight to the overall trend, allowing Iberians the beneficial importation of useful information and cross-cultural interaction without challenging existing ecclesiastic power structures which rested in large part on participation in the Iberian crusade against Muslims. The nuns of Sigena, because of their close association with the crown of Aragon, particularly Queen Sancha, the high social status of most of the *dominae,* and their agreement to relatively strict enclosure, were able to act as such a valuable counterweight.

CHAPTER FIVE: FRENCH CONNECTIONS

As we have seen, Alfonso VI, the dominant Christian ruler in the Iberian Peninsula from 1072 until his death early in the twelfth century, had many ties to and interactions with the Arabic language culture of the peninsula. He had dominion over and alliances with the Muslim rulers of Zaragoza, Seville, and pre-conquest Toledo. He stayed for prolonged periods in Muslim cities like Zaragoza and Toledo, where he developed friendships with Arabized Christians, like Sisnando Davidiz and other Toledo Mozarabs. He eventually married, or took as his concubine, a Muslim princess, Zaida, daughter in law of the ruler of Seville; she gave him his only son. At the same time, Alfonso VI also had a web of relationships on the other side of the Pyrenees. Before his liaison with the Moorish Zaida, Alfonso had been married to two Frenchwomen--first, to Agnes of Poitier, daughter of Duke William VIII of Aquitaine and then to Constance of Burgundy, daughter of the duke of Burgundy (and niece of abbot Hugh of Cluny). After Zaida's death, Alfonso married Bertha, possibly his third French wife, although her country of birth is not clear.[389] After Bertha's death, he married Isabel described by some as French or Burgundian. Finally, he married Beatrice, his eventual widow, and she was also from France. Continuing the French connections for the next generation, in 1108 Alfonso VI married his eldest legitimate daughter, Urraca, to Raymond of Burgundy, a relative of Constance of Burgundy. In 1114 he married his daughter, Teresa, to Henry of Burgundy, a relative of Raymond of Burgundy. Finally, his daughter, Elvire, whose mother was an unknown concubine, was married to Count Raimond IV of Saint-Gilles of Toulouse in Southern France.

In addition to marital and other family connections to French nobility, Alfonso VI also had longstanding ties to several French religious institutions, most notably the Burgundian abbey of Cluny, headed by the uncle of his second wife, Constance. Alfonso's ties to other French

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[389] The identity of royal wives is often difficult to ascertain because there is little mention in either diplomata or chronicles, particularly when a king had as many wives and liaisons as Alfonso VI had. Their appearance in charters provides a name and title but rarely more information. Burial monuments, off hand references in chronicles and other documents are often the only clues to their official existence, and they must be matched up with references to daughters of likely families.

religious institutions included La-Sauve-Majeure near Bordeaux, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, and Sainte-Foy-de Conques. While Alfonso was not the first nor the last Iberian ruler to have maintained close ties with Cluny, his generosity easily made Cluny the wealthiest church in Western Christendom.[390] Alfonso had doubled the censum paid to Cluny by his father, Ferdinand el Magno, to 2000 gold coins annually. After taking Toledo, he sent 10,000 gold coins to Cluny, carried by the monk Seguin, for the construction of a new church at Cluny.[391] Cluny's close financial ties with the kingdom of Castile, brought Cluny's Abbot Hugh to Burgos for the second time in 1090. These close ties also afforded Alfonso VI the highest place in Cluny's liturgy. The poor were fed in his name, at the hour of tierce everyday a psalm was chanted in his honor, a place was set for him at the abbot's table and that food was given to the poor; all masses celebrated at a certain altar were for his soul. At the same time, Alfonso, along with his wife, Constance of Burgundy, patronized Iberians cities and churches along the way to Compostella, earmarking certain donations for infrastructure, such as bridges and hostels, to support the pilgrims.[392]

This chapter examines the layers of connection between France and Iberia during the period 1000 to 1215. It argues that Occitan connections with Spanish points of acculturation with the Muslim world were plentiful enough and longstanding enough to create ripples of acculturation in both directions across the Pyrenees. The first part will explain the ties between the nobility of Southern France and Iberia through alliances and marriages, particularly in counties and duchies like Aquitaine, Burgundy, Foix, Béarn, Toulouse, and Narbonne. The

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390 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne* 22, on Cluny/Leon alliance: "Fernando I and AlfonsoVI," R. Menendez Pidal, in *El imperio hispanico y los cinco reinos*, Madrid, 1950, C. J. Bishko, "The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: their acquisition and administration, 1075ca-1230", in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300,* U. Berliere, *les monasteries de l'Ordre de Cluny du XIIIe au XVe siècle,* in R. ben., t. 10 1893, Justo Perez de Urbel, *los monjes espanoles en la Edad Media,* 1954, Guy de Valous, *le monachisme clunisien clunisien des origines au XVe siecle* , 1935, Joan Evans, *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny,* 1938, M. Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis,* 1614.

391 Defournaux, Les Francais en Espagne, 22

392 Ibid., 67, and SMC, doc. 222, and CNQ, doc.472.

second part, using charter evidence particularly from the Cathedral of Bayone, and the monasteries of Sainte-Foy-de-Conques in the Rouerge, Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, and La-Sauve-Majeure near Bordeaux, shows how over the eleventh and twelfth centuries these ties created contact and communication, the conditions for acculturation, by increasing French contact with Spanish, Jewish, and Muslim people, places and things. Thus, Alfonso VI, with his feet in both Iberian-Arab and Iberian-French interactions, was the center of a web of relationships that connected Arabophone Iberia with Southern France and Burgundy. As such, he emblemizes the expanded horizons for cultural diffusion of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, French and Iberians interests were entangled in related but distinct phenomena: pilgrimage, crusade, and dynastic politics, all of which redounded on each other. Thus monks, nuns, prelates, knights, nobility and ordinary people as well as kings and queens came into increasing contact across the Pyrenees.

Connections across the Pyrenees

Alfonso's web of connections was mirrored by those of many others. Many Occitan noble families participated in Iberian military campaigns, married family members to Iberian nobility and royalty, or patronized churches and monasteries with Iberian institutional ties. In the Iberian peninsula in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries many Occitan monasteries acquired foundations and properties, such as churches, *decimae,* and mosques, , via the patronage of Iberian monarchs and nobility. The Roman papacy, closely connected to the order of Cluny in this period, also had a hand in promoting pilgrimage and French monastic involvement in Iberian religious and political affairs. Numerous French clerics and monastics, acting as papal legates, were sent to Iberian monasteries and sees during this period. These legates developed close ties with Iberian monarchs, which led the monarchs to direct patronage back to the French religious institutions, which, consequently, became very involved in Iberian politics, pilgrimage, reconquest, and associated frontier activities.

Crusades, or more generally Iberian offensive and defensive military campaigns, naturally brought French and Iberian elites together. The Pyrenees were a passage way and linked the defensive destinies of Iberian kingdoms to those of their neighbors to the north. Thus, if Navarre were overrun by Muslim conquerors, Gascony and Aquitaine would become more vulnerable as well. As long as conquest of Muslim territory had the potential of bringing wealth through booty and ransoms, Occitan knights and castellans were eager to share in the adventure. Such shared military interests made intermarriage and political alliances between French and Iberians a natural dynastic strategy. But successful campaigns against Muslim kingdoms in the late eleventh century brought not only an opportunity for economic gain and dynastic alliance among secular elites, it also benefitted the interests of the Roman church and the pilgrimage to Compostella, whereas the pilgrimage route became more accessible to Europe as more of the Iberian peninsula came under Christian control. By the same token, Compostella's popularity as a pilgrimage destination grew as intermarriages and military campaigns brought the Occitan military class greater awareness of and familiarity with Iberia.

Pilgrimage to Compostella

The real growth in popularity of Compostella occured in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when conquest and patronage created relatively safe passage possible. As pilgrimage gained popularity, Frenchmen involved themselves in its promotion. French interests supported pilgrimage through building hospices and other pilgrim infrastructure on both sides of the Pyrenees. Among the earliest records of Compostella as a French pilgrimage site is the story of the Count of Rouergue being killed by 'Saracens' in 961 as he was making the journey to Compostella.[393] This story highlights the nexus of crusade, pilgrimage, and patronage, showing how the potential of pilgrimage to Compostella could not be realized until the way could be made accessible to the population north of the Pyrenees. The conquest in the early eleventh century of places like Najera, opening a pathway to Burgos, Los Condes, Sahagun, and Astorga,

393 Defournaux, 66

made an Eastern pilgrimage route through Roncevaux possible. Several hospices along the way, at Roncevaux and elsewhere, were given to the French monastery of Sainte-Foye de Conques, itself along a major pilgrimage route. Saint Dominic de Silos is credited with building a bridge at l'Oja to aid pilgrims' crossings.[394] King Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon, along with his wife, Constance of Burgundy, patronized the construction of travel infrastructure along the route, including providing funding for forty pilgrims per night at a hospice in Burgos and tax exemptions for monasteries involved in pilgrim hospices.[395]

The elevation of Compostella to a bishop's see was mainly the work of two people, Dalmace, a Cluniac monk turned Iberian bishop, and Diego Gelmirez, a close associate of Raymond of Burgundy, husband of Alfonso VII's daughter, Urraca. Dalmace was a papal envoy to Iberia who became bishop of Compostella/Iria, taking over the see from the interim adminstrator of the see, Diego Gelmirez. In 1095, Dalmace travelled from Compostella to Cluny for the dedication of the new church, built largely with Iberian funds, funneled from *taifa* kingdoms to Burgundy via Alfonso VI and his predecessors. The main altar was dedicated to Saint Peter by Urban II in 1095, himself a former Cluny monk, while Dalmace dedicated another altar to Saint James. While at Cluny, Dalmace successfully lobbied to have the city of Compostella established as *metropole* and exempted from all episcopal oversight except that of Rome. Following Dalmace's death shortly thereafter, after receiving the subdeaconate from Urban's successor, Pascal II, Diego Gemirez, who had earlier been interim administrator,was granted the bishopric of Compostella by Alfonso VI and Raymond. When Diego travelled to Rome to receive the pallium as bishop, he stopped at Moissac and Saint-Martial of Limoges, two Occitan pilgrimage churches. As bishop, Diego would be a tireless promoter of the supremacy of the see of Compostella and the shrine of Saint James. With the ascension to the papal see as Calixtus II of Raymond of Burgundy's brother, Guy de Burgundy, another Cluniac monk, the

394 Ibid., 67-68, and CNQ, doc.472, Count Erro gave first the hospice of Roncevaux and then the town of Roncevaux to Sainte-Foy de Conques in 1093.

395 Defournaux, 67-68.

prospects for the elevation of Compostella were bright. When Calixtus II attended the ceremony in which Bishop Diego baptized Alfonso VII, Urraca and Raymond's son he brought with him a piece of the true cross. Calixtus II's belief in the importance of the shrine is in little doubt, since he chose to be buried at Compostella and the promotion of the cult of the Saint James would be forever attached to Calixtus. The web of relationships during the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century involved in making Compostella the seat of the bishopric, exempted from regional oversight, and eventually an archbishopric, highlights the Papal-Franco-Iberian connection, with Cluny and Burgundy at its center.

The association of Calixtus with the shrine of Compostella is apparent in that the first book of the five book work promoting Compostella and the cult of Saint James, known both as the *Codex Calixtinus* and the *Liber Saint Jacobi*, comprised Calixtus' sermons, masses and hymns in honor of Saint James.[396] Several other books in the codex also had associations with France. For instance, in book two, many of the twenty two miracles performed by Saint James took place in France; indeed, one of the stories was written by Abbot Aubrey of the French monastery of Vezelay. Book four of the codex weaves Saint James into the story of Charlemagne, with Saint James appearing to Charlemagne in a vision three times, at the beginnin, in the middle, and at the end. This section of the *Codex Calixtinus* called the *Chronique de Turpin* or the *Pseudo Turpin*, in the form of a *geste,* primarily concerns the life of

Books of Codex Calixtinus :

Bk	**Description**	**Author**
1	Calixtus II sermons and hymns in honor of Saint James	Calixtus II (Guy of Burgundy)
2	Miracles of Saint James, including several miracles in France	unknown
3	Translation of Saint James to Compostella	unknown
4	*Pseudo Turpin* Geste of Charlemagne with three visions of Saint James	French bishop Peter of Pamplona
5	Pilgrim's Guide to Compostella	French monk, Aimeric Picard of Poitevin abbey of Parthenay-le-Vieux

Charlemagne and his misadventures in Iberia. The origins of this text have been argued to be either the product of an Iberian or of a French author, and the author may be a transplanted French cleric, who borrowed from both Iberian and French traditions, Peter of Pamplona.[397] The authorship of the final book of the *Codex Calixtinus*, *The Pilgrims' Guide* (discussed at some length above in the first chapter), has been accepted as that of a French monk. He, too, ties Roland and Charlemagne to Saint James, describing a place in the Pyrenees where Charlemagne stopped and prayed to Saint James.[398]

It was often the men who aided in the Iberian conquests who also supported the pilgrimage to Compostella. In the mid-eleventh century, Count Thibault of Champagne and Viscount Pierre of Carcassone, along with the bishop of LePuy participated in the dedication of Saint Isidore of Leon on their way to Compostella. In the twelfth century, William IX Duke of Aquitaine, Richard of Melgueil, Count Thibaut of Blois, and Alphonse of Toulouse all made the pilgrimage to Compostella. Alphonse of Toulouse, who was the cousin of Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon, indeed, made the journey twice. In the mid-twelfth century, King Louis VII of France went on pilgrimage to Compostella and later married Constance, the daughter of Alfonso VII. For many of these participants, pilgrimage went hand in hand with Iberian military campaigns and Iberian family connections.

The fifth book of the *Codex Calixtinus*, or the *Pilgrim's Guide,* highlighted the many French shrines worth patronizing on the various routes through Southern France. La-Sauve-Majeure was a popular stop on the way to Saint James of Compostella and pilgrims appear in their charters. Bernard de Lamota, a frequent participant in the charters of La-Sauve-Majeure, often appeared as a witness and a guarantor. He also caused problems for the monks.[399] Bernard

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397 See André de Mandach, Naissance et D6veloppement de la Chanson de Geste en Europe. I: La Geste de Charlemagne et de Roland, Geneva: Droz, 1961 on the Pseudo-Turpin's authorship by Peter of Pamplona.

398 Deforneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 79-100, Gerson, Paula, Annie Shaver-Crandell, and Alison Stones, *The Pilgrim's Guide: a Critical Edition,* vol. II.

399 See SMC, docs., 224, 238, 254, 355, 539, 588, 589.

was a local man whose pilgrimage was part of a process of atoning for his sins against the monks. In the 1130's, to be released from his excommunication imposed for "many and great evil acts that he had done to the monks of La-Sauve-Majeure," Bernard wanted to go to Saint James of Compostella. He sought approval for his trip from Abbot Peter de Ambrasia. In order to get such approval he was willing to cede the tithes of Carenzag, which, according to La-Sauve-Majeure's , they had received them from Bernard's father and mother as alms and held for many years in peace.[400] His journey took him across the Pyrenees and back to the area of La-Sauve-Majeure.

Others stopped at La-Sauve-Majeure along their way. Radulfus de Haya, on his way to Compostella from England sometime between 1126 and1147, stopped at La-Sauve-Majeure and confirmed his family's earlier donations of churches and lands in Hagetorp.[401] Alberic, grandson of Lisois of Ferreris, while on a pilgirmage to Compostella in the late eleventh century, stopped at La-Sauve-Majeure to donate to the monks an arpent of a vineyard worth an annual censum of five *denaris*.[402] Such pilgrimages were recorded because property was donated to La-Sauve-Majeure, but for the few who were recorded, many more pilgrims stopped at La-Sauve-Majeure on their way to and from Compstella without making a donation of real estate worthy of recording, likely giving coins or other objects instead.

Sainte-Foy de Conques was another popular pilgrimage stop. In 1065 a pilgrim from Minorca donated land in Minorca to the monks of Sainte-Foy.[403] Interestingly, the donation

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400 SMC, doc. 608

401 SMC, doc.1363, for earlier donation by Robert de la Haya, see SMC, 1067.

402 SMC, doc.943

403 CNQ, doc.389. The donor is described as a pilgrim by Desjardins,(p.cxix) but it is not specified in the charter. He does make reference to Conques as the burial place of Sainte Foy, perhaps making it more likely that he was a pilgrim. Minorca was a territory of the Cordoba caliphate until the early eleventh century so it was likely that an inhabitant would know some Arabic. "Ego Bernardus Willelmus donator sum ad domum Sancte Fidei cenobii, cuius corpus est in ipso monasterio in Concas. Per hanc mee donationis scripturam dono ibi modiatam unam vinearum cum ipsam terram, et in alio loco pecias duas de vineis cum terris, ibi sunt edificantis meum proprium, adventit michi per comparacionem sive per qulicunque voces. Est denique predicta omnia in Minorisae comitatu, in campo Bagies, in loco vocitato ad ipso Collo de Excollatis. Sunt namque affrontaciones de jam dictis vineis cum terris: a parte vero oriente in vineis cum terris Sancti Benedicti cenobii, *a meridie* in vineis cannonice Sanctae Mariae civis Minorise, *ab occiduo* at que a circio in vineis de Reimundus Suniarii sacredoti sive in vineis de me donatore vel in

charter uses the eastern, southern, western and northwestern boundaries to define the property at hand, similarly to Arabic language documents from Toledo and Huesca.[404] While using the compass points was not exclusive to Arabic language property descriptions, and it may have been a Roman practice, it was rare enough in the area of Conques, this being perhaps the only document in the cartulary to use it, that its use in this instance was likely due to Minorca's Umayyad past. The property is not mentioned in other charters, however, so it is unclear how it was administered, if at all, by Sainte-Foy. The gift does show, however, how pilgrimage and other forms of travel brought churches and monasteries along the travel routes into contact with other cultures.

Pilgrims travelling in the other direction stopped at popular French shrines, as well. Sancius Fortuniones was in Toulouse on his way to Jerusalem when he sold to Lord Hugh de Conques and the church of Saint-Sernin his lands in Artajona for 70 *solidos* Poitivin money. The sale was affirmed by fellow Iberians, Senior Garcia Arceiz de Ucar, Senior Orti Ortiz de Loza, and Raimund Pede Lupi, and witnessed by Bernard de Carroph, and Brother Senior Garcia Arceiz "and all the pilgrims who were with him there."[405] Sancius subsequently died. As a result, his mother, Andremancia de Coien, and his brothers, Exemen Fortuniones and Ossarra confirmed the sale in Pamplona at Ponte Regine. Sancio's guarantors in the earlier agreement, Senior Garcia Arceiz de Ucar and Senior Orti Ortiz de Loza, were also from near Pamplona. As

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ipso Collo de Excollatis." The importance of accurate compass directions to Muslim religious practice perhaps explains why these type of property descriptions were more common in Arab language documents.

404 See LMT doc, 83, for example. While this may not have been an exclusively Arab practice, it was rare in Occitan charters of this period and rare in Latin charters, yet relatively consistent in the Arabic, even using a derivation of the term *qibla*, being the direction of the *Ka'aba*, for the southern direction.

405 SST, doc.465, "Ego Senior Sancio Fortuniones, filius Andremancie de Coien, cum essem in Tolosa, in via motus Jerusalem, vendidi domno Ugoni de Conchis et ecclesie Sancti Saturnini illas terras que sunt in Artaxona, a quo accepi LXX sol. Pictavensium denariorum; et posui firmas Senior Garcia Arceiz de Ucar, et Senior Orti Ortiz de Loza, et Raimundum Pede Lupi. Testis fuit Bernardus de Carroph; et testis fuit frater Senioris Garcie Arceiz, et omnes illi peregrini qui cum eo erant tibi, et qui fuerunt cum eo in Ierusalem. Ego vero defuncto in reditu et sepulto in Sancta Maria de Iraz, hanc venditionem laudavit domina Andremancia, mater eius, et filii eius, Exemen Fortuniones, et Ossarra in Ponte Regine, Domino Deo et Sancto Saturnino, audientibus hominibus qui morantur in eodem loco.

this donation makes clear, because pilgrims often travelled in groups, pilgrimage sites along the way became points of cross-cultural interaction for travellers from either side of the Pyrenees.

The Roman Church in Iberia

The support of pilgrimage went hand in hand with the evangelizing for the Roman Rite and the Benedictine Rule in Iberia. King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon described his kingdom's relationship with the Roman Rite and with the monks from La-Sauve-Majeure as follows: "Hitherto in Hispania, seldom was the Christian rule observed, but afterward during our time, the Roman law constituted by our Holy Fathers was introduced so that we came out from the cloud of error to be propelled into the light, and the Christian Church was expanded into diverse parts by clergy and monks. Thus certain monks, who said they were sent to me by Lord Gerald, abbot of La-Sauve-Majeure"[406] This description introduced Sancius' donation of additional property near Oleron, at Somport, Canfranc (Campo Franco) and Pont Austurici, all along the route to Compostella, the *Camino Franco*, to La-Sauve-Majeure's filiation in Iberia.

The architecture of pilgrimage churches along the *Camino Franco* reflects the movement of people and ideas as well as a shared interest in the promotion of Saint James of Compostella. French churches at Saint-Martial-de-Limoges, Sainte-Foy-de-Conques and Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse and Moissac share architectural features with Saint-Jacques-de-Compostella as well as themes of a last judgment.[407] All were built around the same time (1080-1130). All share a pilgrimage church layout, designed to provide room for large groups to circulate within, with large center and side aisles. At Moissac, just north of Toulouse. the tympanum was inspired, in part, by the miniatures of the ninth century Iberian text by Beatus, abbot of Liebana, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse.*[408] Whether copied directly from the text, or indirectly

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406 SMC 1221, "Hactenus in Hispania raro fuit christiana religio servata, sed, postquam lex romana a sanctis patribus constituta nostris temporibus introducitur ac nubilosus error veniente luce propellitur, advenientibus est diversis partivus clericis et monachis Ecclesia Christi dilatatur. Itaque quidam monachi ad me venerunt qui s messos a domino Geraldo, Silve Maioris abbate, dixerunt."

407 Defourneaux, Les Francais en Espagne, 116-124.

408 Josep Renalias, photographer, Abadia de Saint-Pierre de Moissac - Portalada Sud de Moissac.

through imitations, the depiction of Christ between four animals is a faithful representation of the earlier Iberian miniature.[409]

Figure 5-1: Tympanum at Moissac showing Last Judgment

Saint-Sernin de Toulouse, directly imitated the imagery at Compostella of Saint James between two cyprus trees. The imagery of Saint James was often found in the pilgrimage route churches, Likewise, Saint James with his *baton* was copied from Compostella to churches at Bayonnes, , and La-Sauve-Majeure, as well as at Saint-Sernin de Toulouse.

One can also find influences of Arabic culture in the architecture of pilgrimage churches in Southern France. The *'modillon á copeaux'* (a style of corbel in waved pattern) at Notre Dame du Port in Auvergne resembles Cordovan architectural details. The polylobed arches of Notre Dame de Le Puy, La Charité-sur-Loire and other churches in Poitou, Saintonge and Limousin echo Cordoban architecture as well. On some of the capitals at Moissac and the main portal of the Cathedral of Le Puy, with carved decorations strongly resembling Muslim architectural decoration, kufic script is also used as decoration. The pointed arches used show that some building techniques as well as decorative styles migrated from the Muslim world to Southern

409 Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle en France: Etude sur les origines de l'iconogrpahie du Moyer Âge*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1922, 346-347 on Moissac and Arab influence.

France. Arab architecture borrowed heavily from the cultures it encountered in its expansion, including Roman ones. Therefore, finding Arabic forms inserted into European forms is perhaps less jarring than one might imagine.

The question arises as to whether, in general, the Romanesque style so common in the late eleventh and twelfth century construction in Southern France and Iberia, spread from France to Iberia or from Iberia to France.[410] Whatever the direction of stylistic influence, an argument can be made for a conversation going on between architectural styles, a pluritopic sensibility, that developed out of the frequent travel back and forth by a wide assortment of people between Iberia and France. The spread of architectural ideas, if not techniques, is unmistakable. But pilgrimage was not the only connection between the areas.

Franco-Iberian Marriage and Alliance

Political ties between southwestern France and Iberia had a long and complex history, that dated back to the era of Charlemagne, at least. In the early eleventh century, the Duke of Gascony, Sanche Guillaume, was a vassal of King Sancius of Navarre, spending considerable time at his court and accompanying him in battles, including some against Muslim foes.[411] The Counts of Barcelona also had vassals in the French Midi.[412] In 1010, when Duke William Fierebrace of Aquitaine celebrated the discovery of the skull of Saint John the Baptist by rebuilding the monastery Saint-Jean-d'Angely, Sancho el Magno of Navarre attended the events,

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410 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, 17.

411 Defournieux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 15, Gascony: Sanche Guilaume duc of Gascony, was the last as he died without heir. He was a vassal of Sancho of Navarre, and spent part of his time at Sanche of Navarre's court and fought with him in battles against Muslims. Gascony fell to Aquitaine when he died without heir. Bearn: had territories on both sides of Pyrennees, also supported Sanche de Navarre militarily. Aquitaine: Guillaume Fierebrace (990-1029) had great devotion to Compostella , per Adhemar of Chabannes, he would not go a year without pilgrimage to either Rome or Santiago. Guy Geoffrey, conquered Gascony, so his realm bordered Pyrenees, and he led 'first crusade in Iberia in 1063' (Barbastro). (He also married two daughters to rulers in Iberia.) Sancho el Mayor met with William Fierebrace, Sanche Guilaume de Gascogne, and Robert the Pious at Saint Jean d'Angely in 1010. Sancho el Mayor also called on Cluny to reform certain monastic houses of his realm. p.17

412 Ibid., 129, and 139-141.

as did Sanche Guillaume of Gascony, and King Robert the Pious of France.[413] Sancho el Magno had also asked Cluny to reform certain monastic houses in his realm.[414]

When Sanche Guilaume died without an heir, the Dukes of Aquitaine claimed the territory of Gascony. Beginning with William Fierebrace (963-995), the Dukes of Aquitaine themselves had had close ties with Navarre. According to Adhemar of Chabannes, they were enthusiastic supporters of the pilgrimage to Compostella, as William Fierebrace would alternate his annual pilgrimage between Rome and Compostella.[415] His successor, Duke William V of Aquitaine, the Great (995-1030) brought Gascony under control by force while at the same time supporting military campaigns in Iberia. In 1063, William VIII Duke of Aquitaine, Guy Geoffrey (1058-1086), William V's son, was one of the leaders of the first crusade in Iberia that briefly brought the frontier town of Barbastro under Christian control along with a very large amount of booty, which included slave 'girls,' and other captured Muslims, , who made their way to various parts of the Christian world, including Limoges, according to several chroniclers.[416] William VIII subsequently married off two of his daughters, both named Agnes, to Iberian monarchs; Agnes, his daughter from his second wife, Matilda, married Alfonse VI of Castile as discussed above; Agnes, his daughter from his last wife, Hildegard of Burgundy, married Pedro I of Aragon.[417]

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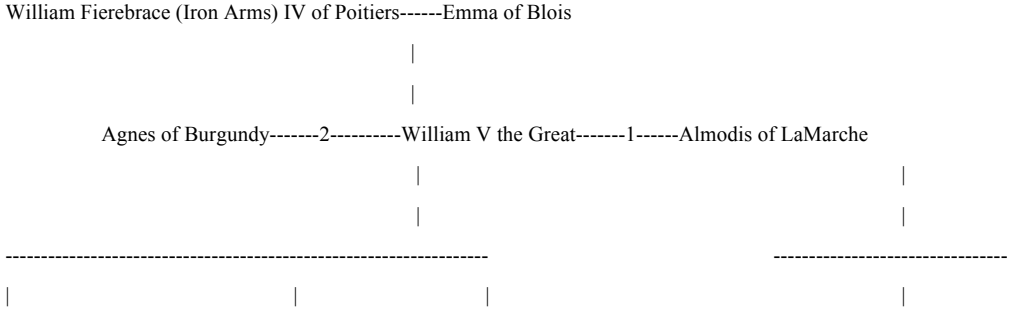
[413] Defourneaux, 16

[414] Ibid., 17

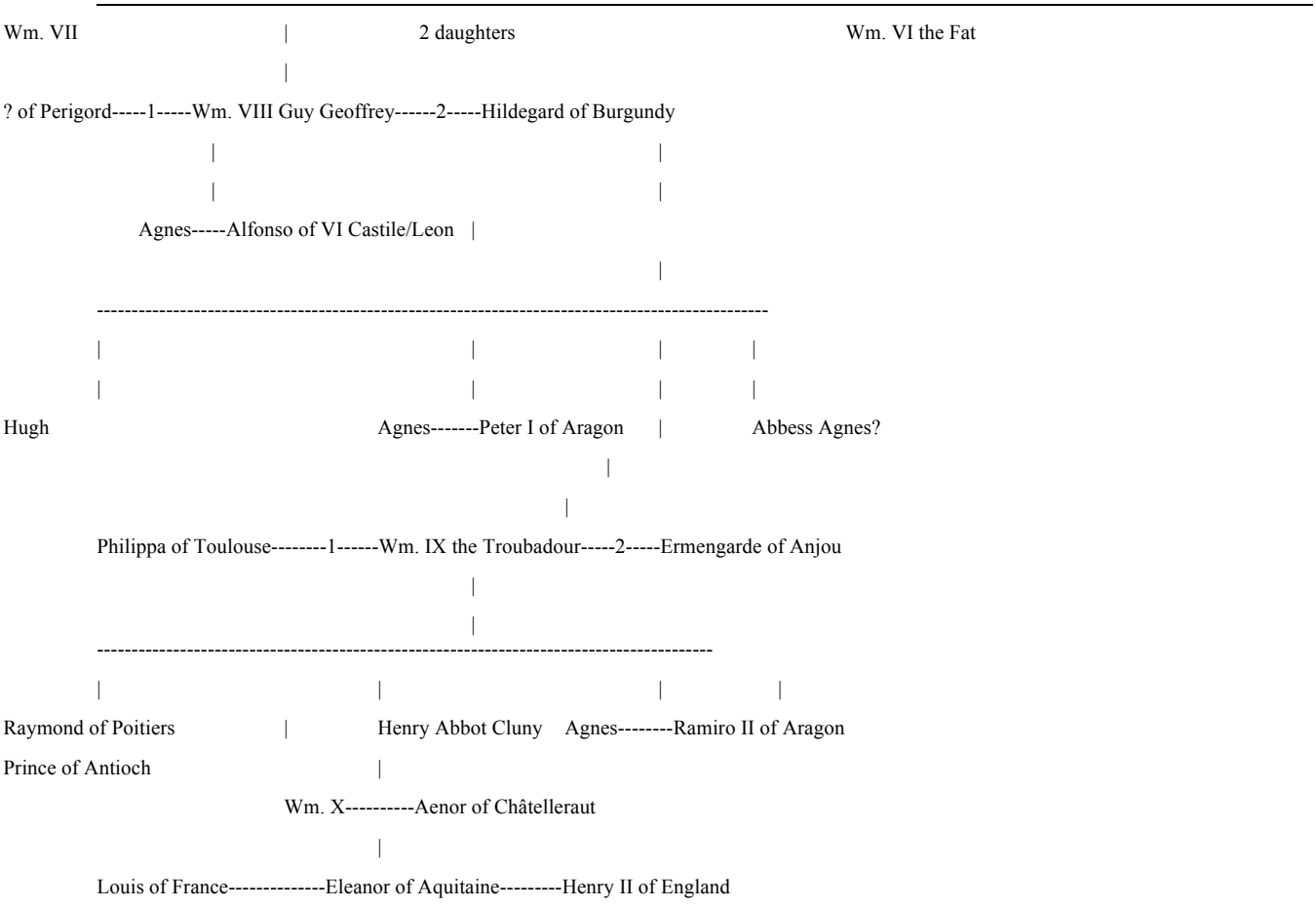
[415] Idem.

[416] Ibid., 131-135, *Chronicus Normanorum* and *Chronica de Saint Maixent* tell the story of the siege of Barbastro.

[417] Abbreviated Aquitaine Family Tree:



William IX (1071-1126), known as the Troubador because he has long been identified as one of the earliest known practitioners of troubador verse, had a cordial relationship with the king of the *taifa* kingdom of Zaragoza. The city, however, was captured in 1118 by Alfonso I of Aragon, brother-in-law of William's older sister, Agnes.[418] From an early age, William IX had had contact with the Arabic speaking world at his father's court and from his own travels to Antioch and likely Zaragoza. His familiarity with Arabic and Arab culture is evidenced by the inclusion of an Arabic verse in one of his extant poems as well as by a gift that was eventually



418 Beech, George T., *The Brief Eminence and Doomed fall of Islamic Zaragoza,* and "The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase, William IX of Aquitaine and Muslim Iberia," *Gesta,* Vol. 32, No. 1 (1993), 3-10, and Uhl, Patrice, "Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et la sorcellerie de Babel: A propos des vers arabes de la chanson V (MS. C)," n *Arabica,* T. 38, Fasc 1 (Mar., 1991), 19-39. See also Menocal, Maria Rosa, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: a Forgotten Heritage,* esp. Chapter 5.

given to his granddaughter.[419] Through his friendship with 'Imad al-Dowla, the last king of Zaragoza, William received a delicate vase of Iranian origin, known today as the Eleanor of Aquitaine vase because it was eventually given to Eleanor, William's granddaughter. William IX participated in military campaigns in Iberia from 1120-1123, including the ill-fated campaign against Cordoba. In 1120, William IX and 'Imad al-Dawlah both led armies in a campaign for the Aragonese king, Alfonso I, against the Almoravids. William's daughter, another Agnes, known in Aragon as Inez of Poitou, married Alfonso I's brother, Ramiro II (the monk), in 1134, providing the only heir to the Aragon throne. William's son, William X (1099-1137) died during a pilgrimage to Compostella, while accompanied by his aunt, Agnes, abbess of the abbey, Notre Dame de Saintes, in Saintonge, also located along the French pilgrimage route. Agnes had pursued her nephew in order to obtain needed documentation to support the abbey's rights over minting money in Saintes, which she did. Eleanor of Aquitaine, in turn, married one of her daughters, Eleanor, known as Leonor Plantagenet in Iberia, to Alfonso VIII King of Castile (1158-1214). The family of Aquitaine presents an example of how intermarriage, military alliance, and pilgrimage complemented each other and drew the Occitan nobility into Iberia. Other Iberian monarchs also took French wives. King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon (dates) married a French woman, Felicia de Roucy, the daughter of Count Hilduin de Roucy III and the sister of Ebles de Roucy, notable as the author of a (date) letter promoting Iberian Crusade and papal claims to conquered Iberian lands.[420]

These patterns of trans-Pyrennean military alliance, friendship, and intermarriage were replicated over the eleventh and twelfth centuries by lesser nobility in Southern France and

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[419] Beech, *Islamic Zaragoza*, 26-27, 213-217. As leader of the crusade against Barbastro, although unsuccessful in retaining the city, it brought great booty to the participants and according to *Historia normanum* a multitude of Arab slave women for Guy Geoffrey. This early exposure (William IX was born several years after the Barbastro pillaging) may have been the initial impetus for his interest in Arabic song and verse. See also, ULe, P. 1990*, "Farai un vers pos m sonelh: la versiondu chansonnier C (BN, fr. 856) la coble bilingue et le problem du lait ou Tarrabart saramahart dans Guillaume d'Aquitaine,"* in *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale,* 33, 19-42 ; *Id.* 1991. Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et la sorcellerie de Babel : á propos des vers arabes de la chanson V (Ms C) » in *Arabica,* 38, 19-39.

[420] Defourneaux, 138-139, and *Gregory VII,* Book, 1.7, pp. 7-8.

Iberia. Two counts of Toulouse, separated by about a century, married daughters of Iberian monarchs. Count Raymond IV (of Saint-Gilles) married Elvira, the daughter of Alfonso VI (1065-1109) by his wife or concubine, Jimena. In 1194, Raymond VI of Toulouse married as his third wife, Leonor, daughter of Alfonso II of Aragon (1157-1196). Later, in 1213, Leonor's brother, Pedro II (1196-1213) would come to Raymond's aid during the Albigensian Crusade, dying at the battle of Muret.

The connections between Bigorre/Foix and Iberia also began in the eleventh century. In the mid-eleventh century, Ermesinda Gisberga of Bigorre/Foix married Ramiro I of Aragon and Clemence, daughter of Bernard II of Foix, married Count Ermengaud of Urgel. In the twelfth century, Roger III Count of Foix (1124-1148) married Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona and Maria Rodriguez de Vivar's daughter, Jimena (1096-1131). In 1231 Roger IV Count of Foix married Brunisende de Cardona, an important family in Barcelona. An earlier marriage had united Fulk II, Viscount of Cardona (1117-1150) with Guillerma, Countess of Melguiel (1134-1165).

The counts of Barcelona had trans-Pyrennean marriages in the eleventh century as well, with Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona (1035-1076) marrying first Agnes, daughter of the Viscount of Beziers, and later Almodis, daughter of the Count of La Marche. His successor, Ramon Berenguer II (1076-1082) married Mahaut de Pouille, from the family of Norman conquerors in Italy. The next count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III, made the most significant marriage, marrying Douce, the heiress of Provence, uniting Catalonia and Occitania for a time under one ruler through vassalage and marriage.[421] All of these connections brought French nobles, their families, their followers, and attendants to and from Iberia on numerous occasions. The dynastic strategy of intermarriage with Iberian nobility extended to the lesser nobility, as when Viscount Bertrand of Bayonne married Tota de Orcayen in Navarre, together

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421 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 141.

they patronized the episcopal see of Bayonne.[422] In general, such marital ties led to patronage of Occitan churches and monasteries by Iberian elites.[423] For example, King Sancho Ramirez of Navarre and Aragon, son of Ermesinde of Bigorre and King Ramiro I of Aragon, was a generous patron of La-Sauve-Majeure near Bordeaux, Sainte-Foy de Conques, and Saint-Sernin of Toulouse.

Military Campaigns, Crusade and the Iberian Frontier

At the same time, Occitan families and institutions became involved in Iberian frontier activities. King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, in addition to his French marriage and monastic patronage, received significant French support in 1063-4 for the conquest of Barbastro, in which Duke Guy-Geoffrey (William VIII) of Aquitaine, Peter of Carcassone, Thibeaut of Champagne, and Guillaume Crespin of Normandy all took part in the siege and the spoils.[424] Over the next century, French knights, castellans and nobles would participate in numerous military offenses, some, too, became part of Iberian royal entourages.

French monasteries and *milites* participated in the defensive support of Iberian frontiers as well. When Sancho Ramirez gave a church in Artajona to the canons of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, he described the area as "newly populated," so he also gave the church "all of the land now in or brought into cultivation in the territory of Artajona," so they would have a very broad base of support. The Saint-Sernin canons of Artajona also built or fortified a castle, its tower and defenses, "turning out the local population there and replacing them with Frenchmen, and

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422 This donation will be discussed later along with the extensive ties between the see of Bayonne and Navarre, guided in part by Bishop Peter of Pamplona. PAG-G54, f r/v, LOB, doc. 6. A donation of 1125 was made by Bernard and his mother, so presumably he was married some time after 1125. PAG G54, LOB doc. 12. The episcopacy of Fortanerius was between 1150 and 1170. Gallia Christiana, vol 1, 1305.

423 Although it might be expected to see equal patronage of Iberian churches by these mixed couples, this does not seem to be the case in general. Further research might reveal the exceptions to this general rule, how it may have changed over time, and clues to the reasons for the one-sidedness of the patronage, at least in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It may be a reflection of the overall relationship between Iberia and Occitania at the time, with Iberia seen as a source of enrichment for Occitan elites, through reconquest, filiation, and extraction of tithes. Also, the Iberian monarchs cultivated French ties for support in their Iberian military conquests, their source of enrichment, and used a portion of the patrimony as enticement.

424 Defourneaux, Les Francais en Espagne, 131-135, especially 134.

installing three *milites* who would remain in and defend the castle faithfully," presumably since the local inhabitants could not be counted on to do so.[425] Here we see an early example (before 1115) of a Belchite-like arrangement, or perhaps a *ribāt,* where knights provide a religious service of manning a frontier fortification.[426] This arrangement clearly predates the formation of military orders, per se, but is perhaps a step in their evolution.

King Sancho also gave Saint-Sernin's church all his *meschinos* in the area, in an arrangement by which the church would act as *infantes,* with the *meschinos* owing their one tenth to the church of Aratjona rather than to the king.[427] Since King Sancho described this donation of *meschinos* as being for the redemption of the latter's souls, the implication is that they may not have been Christian prior to the donation. At the same time, to address reports of fraud and non payment of the *decima* by the *meschinos,* King Sancius established his own officer to be the new *decimarius* of the church.[428] Despite the king's description of the area as 'unpopulated' it appears the area was more likely a frontier area populated with people less loyal to the king and the

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425 SST, doc.682 "All Navarros I expelled and in place of them I introduced Franks and over them three miles who never might leave the castle, who we know most faithful and over all, my nephew, archdeacon, who held the castle for the honor of Beate Maria and ours for your faithfulness." "Omnes Navarros expuli; in eorum loco introduxi Francos, et super eos tres milites qui nunquam exeant de castro, quos nobis fidelissimos scimus, atque super omnes archidiachonum nepotem meum qui teneat castrum ad honorem beate Marie et nostrum ad fidelitatem vestram."

426 The presence of Peter of Pamplona as bishop dates this document to before the ascension of his successor, Guillermo in 1115. See José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de los Obispos de Pamplona,* 979, vol 1., 317. Peter was appointed during the reign of King Sanche Ramiro of Aragon, so the document may be from the eleventh century.

427 SST, doc.453, "and since this church is newly populated, newly incepted, and scarcely has any base (of support), I give to it all that will drawn or broken in the territory of Artaxona, so that the church might be free and independent for all time." "Et quoniam eclesia ista noviter est populata, noviter est incepta, et vix habet aliquid de radice, dono ei totum quod traxerit, vel ruperit, in termino de Artaxona, ut sit illius eclesie liberum et ingenuum omni tempore."

428 SST, doc.453, "Similarly I give [the church] my meschinos so for the redemption of their souls the aforesaid might give to the church, or might sell or might commute so that the church might have freely and independently in perpetuity in the style of infantibus, and in such arrangement if my meschinos work their nine parts it might leave one part of the church free [from the king's share]," "and because I heard many complaints that certain meschini fraudulently retained the decimas I want and praise that my novenario might always be the decimarius of the church so that no one is able to make fraud if they want to maintain my goodwill." "Similiter dono ei quod meschini mei pro redemptione animarum suarum predicte dederint eclesie, vel pretio vendiderint, vel commutaverint, ut ingenuum et liberum habeat in perpetuum, eodem modo de infantionibus."This is not the only indication of friction between the Frenchman controlling the church and its lands and the surrounding population as there are several other references to this friction and resistance. See SST 671 and 672. The dispute with San Juan de Pena might also be a reflection of this friction, as we might imagine the neighbors siding with San Juan de Pena over the new arrivals.

Roman church than desired. King Sancho thus relied on French soldiers to populate and protect the 'newly populated' frontier town, while a French monastic house provided support and collected the tithes.

In the eleventh century the figure of Sainte Foy, whose relics were housed in the eponomous monastery at Conques in the Rouergue, became associated with crusade and reconquest in Iberia, most likely due to the influence of Peter of Pamplona, bishop and confidant of King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon and his sons, Pedro I and Alfonso I 'the Battler'. As a result, numerous Spanish churches were dedicated to the martyred saint. Eventually, through the patronage of Iberian kings, counts and others, Sainte-Foy-de-Conques in the Rouergue gained a significant number of properties in Aragon. King Sancho Ramirez (1063-1094) of Aragon and Pamplona, made a gift to Sainte-Foy de Conques of "the *decimas*, *primicis* and all that is owed to the church of Garitoan in order that a better parrish church be constructed there." While some have argued that these donations to Sainte-Foy were to enlist her power in their battles, particularly against Muslims, in return for his donation King Sancho Ramirez only asked for prayers for his soul and his family's.[429]

Around the same time, Sancius, Count of Erro, gave Sainte-Foy-de-Conques the church and hospice of Roncevalles, a town on the *Camino Franco,* along with their oven, mill, and some property in Murello, Waldo and Janeriz. After his death, the Count of Erro's gift of the town of Roncevalles was approved by Peter of Pamplona's with Bishop Pons of Barbastro, another French bishop in Iberia, acting as witness.[430] Finally, in 1104, King Sancho's successor, Pedro I

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429 CNQ, doc.576, the document refers to Galiton but according to Julio Altadill, "Geografia historica de Navarra" Garitoan and Galiton are the same, vanished place in Navarre, 161-162. Altadill y Torrontera de Sancho San Román, Julio, 1858- Castillos medioevales de Nabarra por Julio Altadill. Donostia, Beñat Idaztiak [1934-36] "Ego Sancius, gratia Dei Rex Aragonensium et Pampilonensium, pro remedio et salute anime mee et omnium parentum meorum, dono Sancto Salvatori et Sancte Fidi de Conchis illum palatium meum de Galiton, sicut hodie teneo et possideo intergerrime, cum omnibut terris et vieneis suis, pascuis, silvis, hortis, nemoribus, exitibus per circuitum et regressibus, et caetera consuitudine quod palatium debet havere regis. Insuper etiam freti consilio et authoritate domini Petri venerabilis Pampilonensis Episcopi, constituimus ut parrochialis ecclesia ipsius ville inibi commutetur et decentius construatur, ad quam decime et primicie cum redditibus suis et ceteris ecclesiasticis debitis deinceps omnino persolvatur, quathenus beate Fidis monachi seu clerici, ab omnium inquietatione remoti, liberius et tranquillius inib Deo servientes maneant et pro nobis jugiter Dei misericordiam deprecentur."

430 CNQ, doc.472.

of Aragon, gave the monks of Sainte-Foy for the construction of a monastery the biggest and best mosque in Barbastro, after that used for the bishop's seat,. In addition, he gave them the *almunia* of Bentepiello "with all of the territory that it possessed on the day Pedro I captured it in order to make it his castle."[431]

As a result of their involvement in Iberian crusade and pilgrimage, church institutions in Southern France saw an influx of gold in the eleventh and twelfth century. The annual sum of 10,000 gold coins promised to Cluny by Alfonso VI, spurring Cluny's ambitious building plans at the end of the eleventh century, has already been mentioned,. The form of payment was usually denoted in terms derived from Arabic or Iberian coinage, *mancuso,* or *morabatin.* For the monastery of Sainte-Foy-de Conques, with the exception of one contribution from Italy of *mancone* in 1099 (most likely of the same Arabic etymology as *mancuso*), the only gold coins recorded from the tenth through the mid-twelfth century were Iberian *mancusos*.[432] The term comes from the Arabic manqush (engraved) which was used to distinguish from other coinage the gold coins minted by 'Abd al-Malik in the seventh century.[433] Sainte-Foy received an annual sum of eight *mancusos* of gold from Ozliz in Navarre, two *mancusos* of gold per year from a Navarrese woman, Guarangardis, who promised the payments until her death, and three *mancusos* of gold from Raimund Johannes or his heirs from property they held in Camarasa in

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431 CNQ, doc.466, Ego Petrus Dei gratia rex Aragonensium et Pampilonensium, pro salute et remedio anime mee et bone memorie patris mei rigis Sancii et matris mee ceterorumque parentum meorum necnon pro in colomitate et augmentatione regni nostri tociusque nostre postertatis dono et conedo Sancto Salvatori et Sancte Fidi gloriose virgini de Conchis et Abbati Begoni monachisque tam presentibus quam futuris ejusdem loci majorem et meliorem unam *mezchitam que sit in Barbastro ad construendum ibib monasterium, excepta illa de sede episcopali."*

432 See CNQ, docs.73, 194, 221.

433 Françoise Quinsat, " Le mancusus, un nom d monnaie Arabe dans le Haut Moyen Âge Occidental," Arabica, tome XLIV, Leiden : Brill, 1997, 284-306, lays out the original logic as distinguishing 'Abd al Malik's coins from those in circulation for a longer period of time, the dinar Rumi (Byzantine) and the dinar Khasrani (Sassanian), calling them 'engraved dinar.' Quinsat also indicates that in the Iberian peninsula beginning under al-Hakim II (961-976) , and also in areas of France in contact with the Iberian peninsula, manqush indicated Andalusian coinage or later, Barcelonian imitations, and not money of account, as is argued by some and is the case in other areas of Europe. Dozy gives a similar etymology to the word. The imitation Barcelona coins were minted from 1018 onward by Juif Bonhom, according to Pierre Bonnassie in "Le Mancosus en Catalogne et dans la France du Midi Note Additionelle," at the end of the cited article.

Catalonia in 1075.[434] In addition, when Peter of Pamplona was leaving for crusade he brought his 300 gold *morabatins* to Sainte-Foy for safekeeping, although they found their way into other hands.[435] An influx of gold coins was one of the beneficial effects for abbeys like Sainte-Foy de Conques and Saint-Sernin de Toulouse of a close association with Iberia.

Monastic patronage and Iberian Ties

French families involved in Iberian adventures also patronized the French monasteries involved in the peninsula. In the documents of Saint-Sernin, the Hospitallers, and Sainte-Foy de Conques, members of the Gardona family of Perigord and their associates appear as donors and witnesses for the Count of Perigord and the Viscount of Angoulême. When the church of Saint-Marie-de-Landarror, with its clerics and properties, was given to Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse, the gift was assured by Arnold Viscount of Angoulême and Ebrardus de Gardona, among others.[436] Another particpant was William Forto, an associate of the Duke of Aquitaine, the latter who was another participant in Iberian military campaigns, including the assault on Zaragoza.[437] When Aldebert, Count of Perigord, in 1117, donated property in the woods of Malefage in Perigord to the Hospitallers, Iterius de Gardona and another member of a castellan family from Perigord, Otto de Bragerac, were in his entourage and witnessed the event.[438]

The Counts of Bigorre were similarly involved in both Iberian marriages and military campaigns and with the monastery of La-Sauve-Majeure. Centulle V of Bigorre participated in Iberian campaigns in defense of Barcelona against an attack by the Almoahads in 1106, the siege of Egea in 1117, the Granada and Valencia forays in 1125-1131, and the siege of Fraga in 1131

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434 CNQ, docs.73, 194, 221. Also listed in CNQ 73 were "servos et ancillas," male and female slaves, presumably Muslim. Since the town of Ozliz is in Navarre near Pamplona, this makes it more likely.

435 CNQ, doc.453 "Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod dominus Petrus Pampilonensis episcopus, volens proficisci Jherosolimam, ccc Moabitnios comisit B. Conchensi abbati."

436 SST, doc.232, CNQ, doc.52. Ebrardus Espainols and his brothers' donation to Conques was witnessed by Willelmus Gardona, his grandson, and another relative Willelmus Grimoardi.

437 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne.*

438 HSJ, doc.40. William Forto, Count Aldebert of Perigord, and many members of the Gardona family, including Ebrardus Espagnol, were also involved in the patronage of the Abbaye-aux-Dames-de-Saintes in Saintonge.

with his brother, Gaston,Viscount of Béarn. They were in the entourage of Alfonso I of Aragon in 1125 at Uncastillo when he exchanged parcels of land for a cemetery for Saint Stephen church with land belonging to the French monastery of La-Sauve-Majeure and confirmed earlier donations to La-Sauve-Majeure and Saint James of Ruesta.[439] Again, at UnoCastillo in 1126, they witnessed Alfonso's donation to La-Sauve-Majeure of two mosques and the *decimas* of Molina, a town still under Muslim control, with a promise to add two more, *"bonas villas in Hispaniam*," unnamed and presumably yet to be conquered.[440] The town of Molina was later taken in 1129 by Alfonso I during a campaign in which both of the French counts participated.[441]

Gaston de Béarn married Alfonso I's cousin, Talesa and took the title Lord (*Senior*) of Zaragoza sometime after 1121.[442] Less than ten years later Gaston was assassinated in Zaragoza under mysterious circumstances. Shortly after his death his heir and son with Talesa, Viscount Centulle VI de Béarn (1131-1134) confirmed his father's gift to the monks of La-Sauve-Majeure of a church in Oleron, along the route to Compostella. The confirmation was made "in the hand of Raimund del Mollnar, a monk from La-Sauve-Majeure, near the city of Oleron in the court of

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439 SMC, docs.966 and 1250

440 SMC, doc.1226, "[Adefonsus] dono domino Deo et Sancte Mariae de Silva et suis monachis duas meschitas in Molina cum iure hereditate, ut habeat in perpetuo. Insuper promitto ei duas bonas villas in Hispaniam."

441 Stalls, Clay, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, 20-21, 126-129.

442 DCH, doc.6, 1147. After Gaston's death, Talesa still carried the title of Viscountess of Béarn: "Ego Talesa….give of that my almunia called Floren, which is in the termino of Huesca, and of the houses which I have in Huesca, and of the field which is above AlMecora of the Sarracens, alongside the road which goes to Floren. Previously I promised all of this to the monks of Santa Maria Silvelate(in Iaca?) but afterwards and on the other side……(gap in doc) I changed to a better diposition so that I say to the monks now that they have all the heredity that the bishop and canons possess in Aierb (in Huesca) and with the houses in the burg except the house in the castle which the bishop and canons retain. The said bishop and canons have and possess the above named almunia, that is, Floren, in perpetuity and in all integrity and with all its territory cultivated and incultivated , and with exit and entrance, and mills with all their water, following what my father had and possessed, the houses also that I have in Huesca with planitia (plains) that is next to them and the field said above I confirm, …..my nephew or any of my progeny will not take away or allow to be taken away. Witnesses are Arnaldus bishop of Oloren, Acenarius, prior S. Christine, Garcia de Monte, Fortanerius de Busi, Peregrinus de Atrossyllo , Espanyol, vicarius of the viscountess, Oliverius David , Petrus of S. justi, Belangarius Durandi, Robert Beliart. From Iaccensibus, truly, are witness and hearers, Poncius Stephani, Calvet Alcal, Arnaldus Gallician, Enneco Lopec, Ardoyn, Pere Lambert, Amicus, Carnifex, Garcia Navarrre son, Petrus sacerdos and brother of Calvet, Bernard Telesti, Durando Archimbaldi"

Centulle's barons in the house of Peter Audeger, his customs agent." Gaston de Béarn's gift had given La-Sauve-Majeure exemption from *teloneum* (duties on commerce and transport) and *vectigal* (rent or custom paid by dependents) in Oleron.[443] Two of the witnesses to the confirmation were also from families involved in Iberian reconquest. Tetbaldus d'Aspa and Anarquet d'Aspa were relatives of Gaston d'Aspe of Béarn, a participant in the siege of Egea in 1118.

443 SMC, doc.1250.

Figure 5-2 French/Iberian Marriages and Other Activity

Date	France Area	French Spouse	Iberian Spouse	Crusade Activity	Pilgrimage Activity
1069	Aquitaine, Poitiers	Agnes of Aquitaine I	Alfonso VI of Leon Castile		
1080	Burgundy	Constance of Burgundy	Alfonso VI of Leon Castile		
1177	Aquitaine, Poitiers	Eleanor (Leanor) of England, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine	Alfonso VIII of Castile		
1154, 1159	Ile de France	King Louis VII	Constance, daughter of Alfonso VII	proposes crusade to Iberia but is turned down by pope Adrian IV b/c of objections of Iberian monarchs	travels to Iberia after Eleanor split, marries Constance, daughter of Alfonso VII
1114	Provence	Countess Douce of Provence	Count Raymond Berenger III of Barcelona		
992	Carcassone	Daughter of Count Roger le vieux of Carcassone	Count Raymond Borrel of Barcelona		
1100	Toulouse	Count Raymond of St. Gilles of Toulouse	Elvira of Leon Castile, daughter of Alfonso VI	Defend after battle of Badajoz	
1170	Béarn	Countess Marie of Béarn	Guillaume de Moncada, seneschal of Alfonso II of Aragon		
1086	Aquitaine, Poitiers	Agnes of Aquitaine II	Pedro I of Aragon		
1042	Bigorre	Ermesinda of Bigorre	Ramiro I of Aragon		

Figure 5-2 French/Iberian Marriages and Other Activity (continued)

Date	France Area	French Spouse	Iberian Spouse	Crusade Activity	Pilgrimage Activity
1134		Agnes of Poitiers, daughter of Wm IX of Aquitaine	Ramiro the monk		
1039, 1070	Beziers	Isabelle of Beziers? Check other sources	Raymond Beranger I		Sells all she possesses in Minervois, Carcassonais, the Biterrois and Narbonne to Raymond Berenger I
1051	Narbonne	Blanca de Narbonne	Raymond Beranger I		
1052	Toulouse, Perigord	Almodis de la Marche, widow of Count of Toulouse	Raymond Beranger I		
1137	Aragon	Petronilla, daughter of Ramiro the Monk and Agnes of Poitiers	Raymond Berenger IV of Barcelona		
992-1018	Carcassone	Ermesinde de Carcassone	Raymond Borel of Barcelona		
950	Gascony	Duke William Sanche of gascony	sister of King Sanch Abarca		
1104,	Béarn	Gaston IV de Béarn	Talesa of Aragon, cousin of Alfonso I	Siege of Huesca, defense of Barcelona, Zaragoza campaign, Granada & Valencia campaign	1121, Senior of Zaragoza, Assassinated in Zaragoza
1100	Burgundy	Henri of Burgundy	Therese queen of Portugal		
1100	Burgundy	Raymond of Burgundy, Constance's nephew	Urraca Queen of Castile Leon	Capture of Toledo	

CHAPTER SIX: FRANCO-IBERIAN CHURCH AND MONASTIC WEBS

The French Church in Iberia

Close ties between French and Spanish were also the result of religious outreach directed by secular and religious leaders, bringing French monks and clerics into prominent roles in the Iberian Peninsula.[1] Among the earliest connections between the French church and Iberia were those between the Abbaye-de-Lèzat in the department of Ariège and the Catalan monasteries of San Michel de Cuxa in Elne, San Cugat in Barcelona, and Saint Martin de Canigou. The connections were due to the involvement of the family of the count of Cerdagne, in particular of Oliva Cabrera and his son Oliva. The latter became abbot of Ripoll in 1008 (the same monastery visited by Gerbert d'Aurillac), then, as bishop of Vic, this Oliva built San-Martin-de-Canigou, developing the intellectual lives of the monasteries by expanding or building conventual libraries. Bishop Oliva advocated for the Truce of God at Toulonges in 1027 where the main priniciples of the truce were first articulated, such as forbidding violence during certain times; only a decade and a half later were they echoed in the Council of Nice in 1041 by Odilo of Cluny.[2] The monasteries founded by Bishop Oliva came under the influence of the Cluniac monastery of Lèzat and were reformed on the Cluniac model between 950 and 1008, around the time of Gerbert d'Aurillac's sojourn in Barcelona.

Iberian monarchs also sought ties with French religious institutions. According to documents from the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, Sancho el Mayor of Navarre (992-1035), asked an hermit named Paterno from Navarre, who had spent time at the monastery of Cluny, to bring the Benedictine practices of Burgundian Cluny to San Juan de la Peña, San Zoila de Carrion, San Salvidor de Oña, and the monastery of Leyre.[3] Several of these monasteries became

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[1] Defourneaux, p.18 In Catalonia, Ripoll was given by the count of Cerdagne, Bernard de Besalu, to S.-Victor de Marseille, as was San Juan de las Abadessa, and San Servando de Toledo by Alfonse VI.

[2] Head and Landes, *The Peace of God,* 334-335.

[3] Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, 20

very influential in the Iberian church, having hundreds of filiations througout the peninsula.[4]

Paterno gathered monks to follow him on his trip from Cluny to San Juan de la Peña to assist him on his Iberian mission and reportedly displaced Iberian monks resistant to the reforms.[5] As well as being Abbot of San Juan de la Peña, he eventually became bishop of Zaragoza, even though Zaragoza was still a Muslim city. Up until his death in 1077, Paterno remained an influential figure under Sancho III's successors.[6] Sancho el Mayor was succeeded by sons who continued his interest in French religious institutions. His son, Ferdinand el Magno (1015-1065) paid an annual sum of 1000 sous of gold to Cluny. Garcia II of Navarre gave Santa Maria de Najera to Cluny in 1079. Alfonso VI gave San Isidore de las Duenas in 1073. Thanks to Emperor Ferdinand and his children, especially Alfonso VI, Cluny eventually had dozens of Iberian filiations.[7]

The patronage continued into the next generations. Sancho el Mayor's grandson, King Sancho Ramirez (1042-1094) of Aragon, chose the French monastic home of Paterno, Saint-Pons-de-Thomière in Herault, for his fourth son to profess as a monk. The Aragonese king patronized it and other Occitan monasteries, including Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse, Sainte-Foy-de-Conques, and La-Sauve-Majeure.[8]

These patterns of Cluniac patronage extended to nobility as well as royalty. In August 1076, Countess Teresa, widow of Count Don Gómez Díaz gave the monastery of San Zoila de

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4 Ibid., 25. Paterne came from Cluny and reformed Ona, under abbots Garcia and Inigo. Ona had nearly 200 monasteries and churches. See Arab and Muslim interactions at Ona in previous chapters.

5 Idem, and *Espana Sagrada*, Tome 30, 218-226.

6 Defornieux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, 19-20. San Juan de la Peña was exempted in 1090 by Sancho Ramirez from church and civil authority and had a large number of houses attached to it, Arragonese bishops were drawn from Sahagun, reformed by Cluny monks.

7 Bishko, C.J., "The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administrtion, 1075-c.1230," in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300,* XI, 305-356 and see *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis,* 1746-1747 for a list of all Cluny priories in Iberia.

8 See for example SST, docs.450, 452, 453; CNQ, docs.576, 578; SMC

Carrión to Abbot Hugh of Cluny.[9] Earlier, Abbot Odilo of Cluny (994-1048) had sent the monk, Arnolf, originally from Carrion, to San Zoila in an unsuccessful attempt to reform it. With Countess Teresa's gift, San Zoila was to adopt the rule of Saint Benedict as defined by Cluny. The assets of the monastery, which would belong to Cluny, were enumerated as, "the monastery, with its village, with houses, and its environs and its ancient boundaries (terminis), namely, the mountains and hills, springs, canals, woods, meadows, marshes, terras, vineyards cultivated and uncultivated, *hortos*, sawmills, fish ponds, entrances and exits, and all internal structures up to the smallest things, that is, including *gold, silver, vestment- fortified, ornamented*- (es, ereum), iron, lead, and *books and chalices*, and crosses and frontlets and frankincense and igipsas, (gypsum?) candelabras and oil lamps and and chandeliers, and silver-ornamented stoles, and drinking plates and mixing bowls and *signos* (crosses?) and coffins where the body of a Saint is and whatever in the worship of God and all the temples and altars pertaining, with crowns of gold all wonderfully sculpted, and also works and very many curtains and *clerical vestments embroidered and woven with gold, and all many worldly goods, that is, silver goblets, trays, spoons, salting basins (salaris aquamaniles), bronze vessels* (coccabis ereis), bath utensils, bronze candlesticks, and all vestments, very much bedding, sheep, oxen, mares, riding/workhorses (caballos), mules, *moors*, and all worldly whatever pertains to the work of the men."[10] In this list we see how Arabic speakers and Arab or Mozarab handiwork may have

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[9] San Zoila de Carrion given by Countess Teresa, widow of Gomez Didace to San Zoila. Odilon of Cluny sent Arnolphe, who was originally from Carrion, to reform the monastery. Pignot, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Cluny, I, 423 and Annales Benedictines, I, 295 and 387

[10] SZC 7, 1076," submittunt cum omni [humilitate], integritate sua, quantum ad ipsum locum pertinet: hec sunt monasteria, cum villulis suis, cum domis et jacentiis et antiquioris terminis, scilicet montes et colles, fontes, aquis aquarum ductibus, silvas, prata, p[a]ludes, terras, vineas, cultas et incultas, ortos, serricas molinarum, piscarias, introitus et exitus et omnia intrinsecus domorum usque minima re; id est aurum, argentum, vestimentum, munile, ornatum, es, ereum, ferrum, plumbum et libros et calices, et cruces et frontales et turabulis et igipsas et candelabros et lucernis et ceroforarios, et stolis argenteis et fialis et crateris, et signos et arcas ubi tumulati sunt corpus sancti, quicquid ad cultum Dei et totius templi et altaris pertinet, necnon et coronis aureis omnia mirifice sculpta, necnon et opere plumario atque auri texta cum cortinis, multa nimis et vestimenta clericorum, et omnia temporalia multa, id sunt, scifos argenteos, discos, coclearis, salaris, aquamaniles, coccabis ereis, balnearis, ceroferariis ereis, et omnia vestimenta, superlectile multa nimis, oves, bobes, equas, caballos, mulos, mauros et omnia temporalia, quicquid ad opus ominis pertinet, quantum hic habemus vel aduc cum Dei adjutorio aucmentare [vel] proflicare potuerimus, damus vobis abba domno Hugo et fratribus vestris qui in presentiam vestram sunt et post vobis futuri fuerint et ad

found its way into Cluny's hands.

Figure 6-1 Detail of Islamic textile from San Zoilo de Carrión de Los Condes

San Zoila was a monastery with a long history of interacting with Arabophone people. On April 16, 1120, when Queen Urraca gave San Zoilo the villa of Arconada, the French bishops Bernard of Toledo and Peter of Palencia were present along with witnesses Cidi, Belidi, and Anaia. In 1148, the sale of land between Guterio Gonzalez and Martin Perez of a *solara* with its *divisa*, was witnessed by Garcia Cidiz, Pedro Cidiz, and Fernandus Citdiz, along with Cit, Velit, and Xanab. Arab textiles, found recently in the monastery of San Zoila, show the type of Andalusian/Mozarabic cloth that likely made up some of the vestments transmitted into the hands of the Burgundian monks of Cluny—items representing everything considered fine, opulent, and powerful in Iberia.[11]

Other involvement of French clergy and monastics in Iberia was tied to attempts to replace the Mozarabic rite with the Roman one, and to reform Iberian monasteries on the Cluniac model. The Iberian church, across Arabic-speaking and Romance-speaking populations, ostensibly had one liturgy, the Mozarabic rite, although it was not completely standardized. The

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altare sanctum in honore Dei et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ut abeatis illum firmiter » Teresa renews her donation in 1077, SZC, doc.8.

11 See chapter 2, p.32, 33, and Chapter 3, p. 27, 29 and, on the textiles, see "José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, "Dos Telas Islámicas encontradas en el monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión de Los Condes," *Goya,* No. 303, 2004, 332-340.

use of this shared liturgy had united Hispanic Christians despite their language barriers. For Pope Gregory VII 's (1073-1085) reforming mission, however, the unification, standardization, and supremacy of the Roman church was central and he pressed the Christian monarchs and church leaders of the Iberian Peninsula in a series of letters to combat heresy and adopt the Roman rite. In 1071, the royal monastery of San Juan de la Peña complied. In 1074, following Alfonse VI's marriage to the French Agnes of Poitou, the bishops of Iberia attended a synod in Rome at which they were pressed to sign an agreement to adopt the Roman rite in their sees. The gathering included Bishop P. Munoz who had been previously under excommunication.[12] Pope Gregory called on the kings of Hispania. as well, to accept the Roman liturgy in the churches in their territories, which he claimed currently were deviating from orthodoxy into heresy. In 1076, again Gregory wrote to Bishop Jimeno of Oca in Burgos urging the promotion of the Roman liturgy, using the imagery of a potentially jilted lover to push his point. "We are full of joy that you desire not to desert [the Roman church] in an adulterous manner but to cherish her in the succession of legitimate offspring."[13] What is it that Gregory fears will lead Jimeno astray? Heretical depravity brought about by feeding at the breast of different mothers—one of whom might have ties to the Arabic-speaking world.[14] Changing imagery once more, Gregory then likened the heretical influence to "savage wolves, ravening wolves not sparing the flock."[15] Gregory perceived unmistakeably a clear and present danger of Iberian Christians adopting or sliding back into heretical beliefs, propagated by those amongst whom they lived. While the use of Arabic among Mozarab Christians is never mentioned by Gregory, the association of heresy,

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12 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, 28-32, and Register of Gregory VIIf, Book 1, 1.64, pp.67-69.

13 *Register of Gregory VII*, Book 3 3.18, , 201-202.

14 Ibid., "Nor should what is known to have the sanction of apostolic authority be diminished by heretical depravity," and " Furnished with such assistance, therefore, the Roman church wishes you to know that she does not wish to feed th sons whom she brings up for Christ with different breasts or with different milk." The milk/breasts represent the heretical depravity of the Mozarabic liturgy presumably.

15 Ibid., 202.

Judaism, and Islam makes the association with the Arabic language at least a subconscious possibility.

Whatever the realities of Christian beliefs in Iberia, a concern with heresy and with Islam in Iberia had motivated the Iberian involvement of Gregory's predecessor and mentor, Alexander II (1061-1073). Alexander had encouraged French military men to participate in the siege and capture of Barbastro in 1064 (however brief) by offering remission of sins to the participants. It is not surprising that this boon enticed *milites* in the South of France to cross the Pyrenees. Morever, Southern France had been where the Church had been actively working, in concert with secular leaders, to circumscribe the actions of the military caste through the councils fro the Peace of God and Truce of God Councils in the early to mid-eleventh century.[16]

Gregory found another opening around 1078 for his importunities when Alfonso VI again married, this time to Abbot Hugh of Cluny's niece, Constance. However, there was resistance in Leon-Castile as Gregory VII again pushed for the Roman Rite in Iberia,.[17] In response, Alfonse VI held first a duel and then a trial by fire to establish God's preference for either the Roman or Hispanic rite.[18] According to the accounts, the results in both instances favored the native liturgy but Alfonso overruled them and affirmed the Roman Rite as supreme in all lands under his rule.

Whatever can be believed of these accounts, all written long after the fact, the reality of supplanting the Mozarabic liturgy is apparent, when Alfonso VI wrote to Abbot Hugh of Cluny in 1076, saying that his realm was "wholly desolated on account of the Roman office which on your command we have accepted." At the same time he asked for a papal envoy to be sent to

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16 O'Callaghan, Joseph F., "The Integration fo Christian Iberia into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile," in Reilly et al, *Santiago, Saint-Denis, St. Peter*: *The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080,* 101-113.

17 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 31.

18 Ibid., 32. Two accounts of these incidents, both related long after the events, give the same outcome: the Mozarabic rite won the ordeal but was ultimately rejected by Alfonso VI. It is not clear what the benefit might be to those who recounted the story to show Alfonso VI, rather than God, as the one who chose the Roman rite.

"emend what should be emended and correct what should be corrected."[19] By this time, an envoy from Cluny, Robert the Monk, had already travelled to Castile with other monks from France, and was firmly within Alfonso's circle of trust.[20] In his letter to Abbot Hugh, Alfonso requested emphatically that Robert be allowed to remain in Castile, speaking of his great love for him and appreciation for the help he had given. He further requested that additional monks from Cluny be sent to join Robert, and, in the very same letter, Alfonso doubled the annual pledge from Castile to Cluny, perhaps to assure that his request was fulfilled.[21]

Elsewhere, the reception of Cluniac influence ws mixed. The cause of reform at the monastery of Sahagun had generated divisions between the monks. Like several other Iberian monasteries reformed by Cluny, Sahagun gained power and influence, but it also maintained its independence. It had a right to elect it's own abbot but that abbot selected the heads of the 115 Spanish priories under its control, each of which paid an annual *ius subjectionis* to Sahagun.[22] After several years in Iberia, Robert, the Cluniac monk, appears to have shifted his loyalties.[23] The shift could reasonably have been due to Robert being persuaded toward the Iberian viewpoint but it also may be because he perceived it was politic to compromise with native differences. By 1079, there is possible evidence of a schism, as documents were being signed by

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19 *Patrilogia Latina* 159.938-39, and Alexandre Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye d Cluny,* 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), IV : 551-53, 3441, dated c. 1070

20 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 25

21 The structure of this letter gives the impression that the lengthy preamble, with expressions of love and gratitude to both Hugh and Robert, and the articulation of the increased censum itself were ipse facto tools of persuasion in order to obtain Alfonso's true aims for his letter, the extension of Robert's stay in Iberia, additional monks, and a papal legate all to help settle the turmoil over the liturgy. It is not unreasonable to assume that Alfonso was looking for a compromise, despite the ultimate result, that would have avoided the conflict over the liturgy. Ultimately, although the Roman rite was proclaimed in all of Alfonso's realm, the reality of the circumstances of a mixed population with a firmly entrenched cultural divide dictated that the Mozarabic liturgy would survive for another 100 years in many Castilian cities and for 500 more years in Toledo. See Hitchcock, *Mozarabs,* and Reilly, *Saint Peter, Santiago and Saint Denys*.

22 Defourneaux, 26.

23 Defourneaux, 25. Robert the monk was either ill-received by the Sahagun monks or he caused a schism between the monks who wanted to continue old rite and those who wanted Cluny reforms., "Monasteres espagnols de l'ordre de Cluny," *Boletin de la real academia de la historia,* t. xx, p.321. (431 I Ulysse Robert. BRAH, t. 49, p.339).

an Abbot Julien and some by our freind, Abbot Robert. In addition, some monks left the abbey and would only returned in 1083 when an entirely new abbot was appointed, again from France, Bernard de Sedirac, the future Archbishop of Toledo.

In 1080, however, Robert was clearly abbot of the monastery of Sahagun although not for much longer. When the papal legate, Richard, abbot of Saint-Victor of Marseilles, returned from Iberia after his third visit in early 1080, Robert had already fallen into an unnamed heresy in Richard's eyes. In a letter to Abbot Hugh of Cluny demanding Robert's return from Iberia, Gregroy VII described him as Simon Magus, a biblical character associated with heresy as well as the sin of simony (named for him). Simon Magus was also associated with sorcery, agnosticism, and rejection of authority. Whatever the specifics of Robert's transgressions, Gregory associated his heresy with the errors of the Hispanic Christian practices. He accused Robert of "leading back into their former error 100,000 men who had begun to return to the way of truth through the assiduity of our labour."[24] Gregory VII penned two more letters concerning this turn of events, to his legate, Richard, and to King Alfonso VI himself. In his letter to the latter, he described Robert as a pseudo-monk and one of the twin devils leading the king to his downfall, the other, presumably, being his wife, Constance. Constance's role in this division is even less clear than Robert's. She was perceived by Gregory as leading her husband astray, possibly because she sided with Robert over the divisions at Sahagun, and perhaps in the larger issue of the Roman rite in Leon-Castile. It is also possible that Gregory's reference to Constance was merely referring to the issue he would raise about Constance's consanguinous relationship with Alfonso's first wife, Agnes of Aquitaine (granddaughter of Agnes of Burgundy), making their marriage incestuous by ecclesiastic definitions because Constance was related to Alfonso's previous wife. At any rate, Constance wrote to a French ally, the abbot of La-Chaise-Dieu, Aleaume, reknowned for his miracles. She asked him to come to Iberia to restore peace over the

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[24] Letters 8.2 and 8.3 to Abbot Hugh of Cluny and King Alfonso VI of León-Castile, respectively, in Gregory VII's register address the concern that Robert was 'going native.' *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085, an English Translation,* H.E.J.Cowdrey, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 366-367.

liturgy. Aleaume (Saint Lesme) came but it is not clear what role he played in resolving the dispute.[25]

In the end, Gregory's inflexible will won out. Robert was recalled to Cluny, called a heretic, and Abbot Hugh of Cluny was asked to more closely supervise Spanish monks' conduct in Iberia. Although he was instructed to return to Cluny, Robert was still present when Alfonso donated a Spanish church to Cluny in the summer of *1080*.[26] A Council at Burgos was called, at the instigation of papal legate, Richard, at Easter of 1080 where Iberian clerics agreed to abolish the old liturgy. Alfonso ratified the adoption of the Roman rite in his realm and Pope Gregory dropped his charges of incest against Alfonso. Robert eventually did return to Cluny and appears in later Cluniac charters.[27]

Another key figure in Franco-Iberian church relations was Robert's successor at Sahagun, Bernard de Sedirac. When the occupant of the archbishop's see of Toledo became the primate in the peninsula, Bernard became its first occupant in 1085. Originating from Sauvetat-de-Saveres in Agen, child of a noble family, he was a knight who, after being wounded in battle, turned to a religious life, entering a Cluniac monastery in Auch. He was invited by Abbot Hugh to Cluny, and sent from there to Sahagun to replace the disgraced Robert. During his time there, he undertook economic reforms to put the monastery on more solid footing, gaining the right from Alfonse VI to establish colonists on the surrounding land, likely Frenchmen.

During the period from 1080-1120, when three monks from Cluny occupied the papacy, a nexus developed between Rome, Cluny and Iberia. Richard de Saint-Victor was replaced as papal legate in Iberia by Raynier of Cluny. Bernard, as archbishop of Toledo and the supreme church authority in the peninsula, successfully installed, with papal blessing, French clerics in

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25 Defourneaux, 31-32.

26 Joseph O'Callaghan, "The Integration of Iberia," 108-111, and fn 33, Robert was with Alfonso at San Pedro de las Dueñas January 22, 1080, Alexandre Bruel, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, t. 4. The date may actually be 1081.

27 *Patrilogia Latina,* t. 149, col 935-946 and *Chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 551. Several monks were sent to Sahagun, including Robert. Look at these docs and San Denys Santiago, etc.

many Iberian church offices, often men associated with Cluny. Bernard, as an aristocrat and military man by origin, involved himself in the political and military, as well as religious, affairs of the peninsula. He is given a central role by Bishop Rodrigo de Toledo's account in the *De Rebus Hispaniae* in the conversion of the Toledo Friday Mosque into the archbishop's cathedral.[28] According to the story, Queen Constance (again seen as a disruptive force) and Archbishop Bernard, against Alfonso's surrender agreement and personal wishes, took over the mosque, removed the Islamic items, replaced them with Christian ones, and put bells on the highest tower. Alfonso, outraged, returned to the city in order to put things right, but was stopped by the Muslims of Toledo who asked him to leave it as it was, since they would be blamed if Constance and Bernard were harmed.[29]

Whatever of this anecdote is true, Bernard was very active in church affairs in Rome, France, and Iberia during his Toledan tenure. Just three years after being made archbishop, he went to Rome to meet Gregory VII but, by the time he arrived in 1088, Urban II had become pope. On his return trip he participated in a council at Toulouse. In 1093 or 1094 Urban made him papal legate to Iberia. In 1095, Bernard left Toulouse for Clermont for the council that included Urban's preaching of crusade. Bernard, himself, wanted to leave on crusade but a revolt in his absence by the Toledo cathedral clergy prevented him. They had installed a replacement bishop in his absence, perhaps a reflection of tensions similar to those at Sahagun during Robert's tenure as abbot. Bernard returned to Toledo, unseated the replacement, and put the cathedral clergy under the authority of the monks of Sahagun, whom Bernard had apparently brought in line with Cluny and Rome. When he again tried to leave for crusade, Urban urged him to return to Toledo, a reflection of the importance placed on maintaining the Iberian church within the Roman fold, and the perceived fragility of the Roman rite in Iberia.[30] Instead of a

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28 Defournneaux, 34, *Hispaniae Ilustratae, Scriptores*, t. 3, 106.

29 By comparing this description with the description from the Muslim perspective, described in Chapter 3 we see a difference in attitude-or at least perceived attitude-between Franks and Iberians, Romance speaking and Arabic speaking.

30 Defourneaux, 34, *Hispania Illustrate*, Scriptores, Rodrigo de Toledo, p. 107.

crusade to the Holy Land, Bernard took part in nearby battles like the siege of Alcala which delivered the city to the catholic see as part of its patrimony. When Almoravids attempted to retake the city, Bernard stayed to help the inhabitants. [31]

After his return from Clermont in 1095, Bernard began bringing French clerics into the Toledo cathedral chapter, from whence they were appointed to the most important bishoprics in Iberia. Among the prelates brought to Toledo by Bernard of Sedirac were Giraud from Moissac, who was chanter of the cathedral at Toledo and then archbishop of Braga;[32] Peter of Beziers who was archdeacon of Toledo, then bishop of Osma; Bernard of Agen was chanter in Toledo then bishop of Sagonte; Pierre of Agen who became bishop of Segovia; another Pierre was bishop of Palencia; Raymond became bishop of Osma after Peter of Beziers, and then succeeded Bernard to become the archbishop of Toledo in 1124.[33] After Raymond d'Osma succeeded Bernard in the Toledo see (1124-1151), he oversaw the translation of the Aristotelian texts, *Metaphysics* and *Physics*, and many neoplatonic texts by Muslim and Jewish authors of the tenth to twelfth centuries, including al-Farabi (end of the eleventh century, Ibn Sina, (980-1036), al-Gazali, (1058-1111), and the Jewish author, Avicebron, (1020-1070).[34] Although these translations were only in Toledo, bishops in other frontier towns were similarly of necessity involved with their Arabic speaking neighbors on a daily basis, and consequently aware of the Arabic language literate culture of ideas.[35]

Bernard was not the only influential French cleric south of the Pyrenees. In Aragon, the French monk, Abbot Frotaire of Saint-Pons de Thomières was sent by Gregory VII to reform the monasteries in 1077. He was with Pedro I in Huesca when it was captured and witnessed the

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31 Defourneaux, 35.

32 Ibid., 35-36, and De Fortia d'Urban, Agricole Joseph François Xavier Pierre Esprit Simon Paul Antoine, Histoire générale de Portugal: depuis l'origine des Lusitaniens jusqu'à la régence de Don Miguel, Volume 3. Giraud of Moissac was later canonized.

33 Defourneaux, Les Francais en Espagne, 36.

34 Ibid., 43, and Brerier, *Histoire de la Philosophie*, t. I, pp 613 sqq and 637 sqq.

35 Defourneaux, Les Francais en Espagne, 43.

donation of its churches to French monasteries.[36]Another French cleric who became embroiled in Iberian military and political affairs was Jerome of Perigord, who was a key figure in the geste of the Cid. He was called to Valencia by Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (El Cid) to be bishop there. In the *Cantar del Mio Cid* he is presented as another Turpin, an avid fighter of the infidels.[37] After Valencia was lost again to the Almoravids, Jerome moved to the see of Salamanaca and, at the same time, held the see of Zamora. When he died in 1120, he was succeeded by Bernard de Perigord at Zamora. In Catalonia, Odegar, abbot of Saint Ruf near Avignon, came with Douce de Provence when she married the Count of Barcelona, to Catalonia where he became bishop. He was later made archbishop of Tarragona in 1096, while it was still in Muslim hands. Odegar was also in charge of restoring Tarragona, a formerly important episcopal see when it was conquered, given the pallium by Calixtus II, who, in 1123, also gave him the *legatus a latere* with the mission of organizing crusades in Northeastern Iberia. Through this office, Odegar had the power to commute a crusading vow for the Holy Land to one for fighting Muslims in Iberia.

When Bernard of Toledo presided over another council at Burgos in 1117 which adopted reforms for the election of bishops, the protection of church property, and about concubinage and consanguinous marriage, the participants included French prelates, such as Pierre de Palencia, Jerome de Salamanque, Hugh de Porto, and Odegar de Tarragona. The prohibitions against consanguinous marriage at the 1117 council were particularly targeted at Urraca, the reigning queen of Castile, after her marriage to her cousin, Alfonso I of Aragon. Shortly after the synod, Bernard of Sedirac was again driven from his see at Toledo by a rebellion of the Toledan and Iberian clergy. With Urraca's death in 1126, her son and heir, Alfonso VII, whose father, Raymond of Burgundy, was the late brother of the new pope, Calixtus II (Guy de Burgundy), became the pope's nephew. With these close family ties to Rome, Alfonso was better able to

36 CDP, docs.453, 484, SST, doc.290.

37 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, fn 36.

resolve tensions between the Castilian throne and the Roman Church, even if not able to assuage the resentment of the population at large.[38]

Another French cleric brought to Toledo by Bernard of Sedirac, Maurice Bourdin, a Cluny monk from the Limousin, similarly became embroiled in Iberian politics, and, eventually, in papal politics. First, he was made an archdeacon of Toledo. He later became the bishop of Coimbra (where Alfonso VI's Andalusian friend, Sisnando, was count), and then the bishop of Braga, where he was an ally of Prince Henry, the Burgundian husband of Alfonso VI's daughter, Teresa.[39] Bishop Maurice's political alliance brought him into conflict with Archbishop Bernard, who had him disciplined and recalled to Rome by Pope Paschal II., Maurice, took the side of Emperor Henry V against the pope in the investiture controversy that had errupted between them much, as he had with Prince Henry of Portugal and Archbishop Bernard, while in Rome. At Paschal's death in 1118, Emperor Henry proclaimed Maurice as pope, in defiance of the Roman curia, Maurice taking the name Gregory VIII. Pope Gelasius II, the choice of the Roman curia, sought refuge from the forces of Henry and died at Cluny. It was Gelasius' successor, Guy de Bourgogne, Calixtus II, the uncle of the heir to Castile, Alfonso VII, and the inspiration of the *Codex Calixtus* in support of Iberian pilgrimage, who successfully thwarted the usurpation of papal power by Maurice/GregoryVIII by making peace with Henry V. In 1121, Maurice was captured and paraded through Rome, facing backwards on a donkey.[40]

While Maurice Bourdin's tragic story ultimately took place outside of Iberia, his rebellion or disagreements with church authorities began in Braga. Maurice, like Peter the Monk at Sahagun, is the second example of Cluniac monks who, after a period of time in Iberia, ran afoul of papal authority. While there was no outright rebellion of Iberian clerics, there is evidence, in the actions of Maurice, Peter, and those clerics who temporarily drove Bernard from the Toledan see, of dissension in Iberian clerical and monastic ranks against Rome and Cluny.

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38 Defouneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, 40.

39 Ibid., 40-42.

40 Ibid., 42.

One more incident from this period underlines the rebellious attitude toward the papacy in the peninsula. An Iberian text, *Tractatus Garsiae,* includes the satirical story of a cleric from Toledo who accompanied Archbishop Bernard on a trip to Rome. The story mocks the gluttony, greed, and ostentatiousness of the court of the Cluniac Pope Urban II, and of Bishop Bernard. The outlines of anti-clerical critiques that became more common over the twelfth century are recognizable in this early twelfth century fiction. This dissent also played out in conflicts over property and *decima* held by French monasteries as will be discussed later in this chapter. In describing the "translation of the relics of silver and gold," the papal curia are more concerned with their stomachs and coffers than with doctrinal or theological matters.[41] The account paints a less than flattering picture of Archbishop Bernard, himself, describing him as "fat, oily, refined, rotund, heavy, ponderous, weighty, massive, cyclopean, a giant in body, broad-chested, deep bellied, fat-buttocked, his eyes set wide apart, with a jutting forehead, a ferociuos countenance." Therefore, it was deemed the archbishop deserved three bowls of soup, which he "attacked," "devoured," and "drained."[42] The story is obviously an exaggeration of the life in the Roman curia but the critique elucidates the dissatisfaction in Toledo and elsewhere caused by French and Roman clerical dominance.

The influx of French clerics into Iberia was not on a one-way street, however. The travels of several of these clerics back and forth on church and personal business is well documented. Bernard of Toledo, Frotaire of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, Peter of Pamplona, Maurice de Sedirac (Gregory VIII), and Bernard de Bessalu all appear in French documents during or after their tenure in Iberia.[43] Archbishop Bernard of Toledo travelled frequently to France, to Cluny, often

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41 *Tractus Garsiae: the translation of the Relics of SS.Gold and Silver*, ed. by Rodney M. Thomson, Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1973, and Morris, Paul N, *Roasting the Pig: a vision of Cluny, Cockaigne and the treatise of Garcia of Toledo*, Boca Raton, FL: Dissertation.com, 2007.

42 *Tractatus Garsiae*, 39.

43 French charters with these men Bernard: SST, docs.451, 681, and A-3 in Toulouse, CNQ, doc.467 approving the donation of Fulk, bishop of Barcelona and viscount of Cardona; Frotaire: SST 451, 484, and 290 along with Richard, papal legate to Iberia, in Toulouse, CNQ, doc.20; Peter: SST, docs.450, 451, 486, 487, 665, 670, 682 CNQ, docs. 2, 453 and 572, in France, 472 and 576 in Iberia.

on his way to and from Rome. Like Sancho Ramirez's son who was sent to Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, Iberians went to join French monasteries, and Iberian monks returned to the peninsula to reform monasteries. They include Paterno, the hermit, who had been to St.-Pons de-Thomières by Sancho el Mayor in the early eleventh century, returning to reform the monasteries of San Salvador de Leyre, San Juan de la Peña, and Ona.[44] Similarly, Arnulf, originally from Carrion in Castile, was a monk at Cluny who returned the peninsula to reform the monastery of S an Zoilo de Carrion de los Condes in Castile.[45]

In the late twelfth century, the Frenchman, William de Laubesc (in Aquitaine) became prior of Egea, a dependent priory in Aragon of the French monastery of La-Sauve-Majeure near Bordeaux.. Before and after his appointment, he appeared many times in France as a witness for La-Sauve-Majeure. His relatives, Raimund de Laubesc and Peter de Laubesc, were successively abbot of La-Sauve-Majeure between 1184-1201, around the same period when William was prior of Egea.[46]

Moissac's filiations of in the Iberian peninsula, Saint-Martin d'Arles (Elne) Saint-Paul de Vallosa (Narbonne), and Camprodon (Gerona) were required to send an annual cens of ten *solidos* to the mother house and submit their choice of abbot for approval of the monks of Moissac. Camprodon had to send delegates as representatives to Moissac whenever a new abbot was elected.[47] Such requirements brought Iberian monks to Moissac on a regular basis. It was perhaps one of these required trips that brought Durande laMora to Moissac, where he witnessed a sale.[48] While Moissac's degree of control was unusual, Iberian holdings often required the involvement of the French mother house in local affairs.

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44 *Espana Sagrada* XXX, 218-226.

45 *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, I, p. 423, and *Annales Benedictines*, I, p. 295 and 387.

46 SMC, docs.960, 962, 963.

47 Defourneaux, 25, Miret y Sanz, *Relaciones entre Camprodon y Moissac* (1897), Ainaud de Lasarte, J., "Moissac et les monastères catalans, de la fin du Xe au début du XIIe siècle," and Mundo, A., "Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements monastiques de l'Est des Pyrénées du Xe au XKIIe siècle," *Moissac et l'Occident au XIe Siècle, Actes du colloque international de moissac, 3-5 Mai, 1963*, 223-227 and 229-251.

48 TGG 2, (TGG- 1m-97).

Peter of Andouque (or of Pamplona) was another French monk who was very involved in both Iberian and French politics. He travelled between the Midi and Navarre and Aragon attempting assiduoulsly to reestablish ties between the Iberian and French church.[49] Originally from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières (like Abbot Frotaire, mentioned above), Peter was a monk but then became a member a member of the abbey of Sainte-Foy-de-Conque before he became the bishop of Pamplona in the late eleventh century.[50] Just as Robert of Cluny had been for Alfonso VI, Peter, as bishop of Pamplona, became a trusted advisor to King Sancho Ramirez, and his sons and successors, Pedro I and Alfonso I of Aragon and Pamplona. Peter used his control of the Pamplona see and his close relationships with Iberian monarchs to further trans-Pyrennean ties by facilitating alliances between rulers and by donating churches, mosques, and other Spanish property to French monasteries. Peter's position as bishop of Pamplona, however, did not prevent him from taking an active part in the political and religious affairs of Southern France. He was at Cluny around 1100 to dedicate and consecrate an altar in the newly built abbey.[51] He was also present at the consecration of the new abbey church of Saint–Sernin-de-Toulouse under Urban II.[52] Also like Bernard, Peter of Pamplona was both a religious and a military man. He fought agains Muslims in the taking of Huesca and Barbastro. He aslo participated in intra-christian battles and took the crusade vow at Clermont, participating in a crusade to the Holy Land in 1100. He helped Alfonso I of Aragon obtain French help for his

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49 Defourneaux, 38. He linked Iberian priories to French houses and gave them churches and rights to mosques in conquered territories. Like Bernard, he was successful in installing French monks in Iberian sees. Pons from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières became Bishop of Roda-Barbastro and was succeeded by Raymond a canon from Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse. Sainte-Foy-de-Conques received the mosque of Barbastro, Saint-Gilles received the church of San Eulalie in Barbastro. Also like Bernard, Pierre was both a religious and a military man. He fought against Muslims, in the taking of Huesca and Barbastro.

50 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, Pact of amity 1092 between Pamplona and Sainte-Foy (in *Melanges of Menendez Pidal*, II p. 272.)

51First Projects: Medival Academy Support of Kenneth J. Conant's Cluny, http://www.medievalacademy.org/AcademyArchives/news_JanMarquardt.html 1/20/2012 citation of report by Conant on the findings of 1928 Cluny archeological dig, included this passage: "It suffices here to say that an inscription, painted in red upon a coat of stucco overlying the original stucco finish of the interior, certifies in characters of the first quarter of the twelfth century that the chapel was dedicated and relics were deposited in the altar by Peter, Bishop of Pamplona (1115)."

52 SST, doc.A-3.

battles against Muslims and he eventually died in Toulouse in 1114 when the Duke William IX of Aquitaine, Count of Poitiers, attacked the city in a war for its control with Alfonse Jordain.[53]

Sainte-Foy-de-Conques and Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, not surprisingly, were frequent beneficiaries of gifts from Peter of Pamplona, but so, too, were Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse and the cathedral and canons of Bayonne. Peter was signatory to a pact of amity between Pamplona and Sainte-Foy de Conques in 1092.[54] Peter was again present when Count Sanche D'Erro donated the alms of Roncevalles to that abbey.[55]

While the connections between Pamplona and Bayonne were complex, Peter of Pamplona had a hand in enhancing the ties between the two sees. When Forto Anerius de Orcoyen (near Pamplona in Navarre) and his wife Lady Auria gave half of the *decima* of Orcoyen and a mill to William, Bishop of Bayonne, and his cathedral, Peter of Pamplona was present to confirm and concede the gift, perhaps having persuaded them to make the gift.[56] Such economic ties initiated by Bishop Peter were later cemented by the marriage of Tota de Orcayen to the Viscount of Bayonne, Bertrand.[57] Viscount Bertrand himself, was also a frequent patron of the Church of Bayonne, its bishop and canons.[58]

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53 Defourneaux, Les Francais en Espagne, 147-149.

54 Ibid., 24, and *Melanges de Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. II, 272.

55 CNQ, doc.472.

56 PAG-G54.

57 LOB, doc. 6. A donation of 1125 was made by Bernard and his mother, so presumably he was married some time after 1125. A codicil to the gift of the mill stated that a long time later (probably in the mid-twelfth century) Dona Tota de Orkoyen, wife of Bertrand, the Viscount of Bayonne, gave the decima of the mill of Orkoyen, in perpetuity, into the hands of Fortanerii, Bishop of Bayonne, PAG G54, doc. 12. The episcopacy of Fortanerius was between 1150 and 1170. Gallia Christiana, vol 1, 1305.

58PAG-G54 Doc. 17, 1149, doc. 18, 1149, doc. 19, 1150-1170, doc. 21, 1150-1170. The viscount's son, William Bertrand, appeared as a witness at a donation by Navarra, viscountess of Soule, (a Basque province of France) and her husband, Augerius de Mirmon the decima de Ossais (on the modern French/Spanish border) enacted near Mauleon.

Iberian Ties of the Cathedral of Bayonne

The ties between Navarre and Bayonne, however, predated Bishop Peter of Pamplona. A document from the episcopacy of Arius, bishop of Bayonne in the late tenth century, contains a list of properties identical to one contained in a confirmation bull of Pascal II dated 1106. Both lists contain substantial holdings south of the Pyrenees, some just across the border from Bayonne, like Karoli (Karol Cruces) as well as others farther afield, like Bastan near Pamplona, which was listed among the properties of the Church of Bayonne in papal bulls at least from the tenth to the early thirteenth century.[59] A long running dispute between the viscount of Bastan and the Church of Bayonne was eventually settled by Tota's husband, Viscount Bernard of Bayonne, William, bishop of Dax and Vivian, bishop of Lectour.[60] An earlier vernacular language account from 1130, described this dispute which resulted in the excommunication by the bishop of Pedro Pedriz and his father Pedro Fortuno, seigneurs of Bastan, and the church of Maier (a neighboring area) for over thirty years. The settlement arrangement brought together people from Iberia and France, including Pedro Fortuin, to eventually affirm the Church of Bayonne's right to a quarter of the decima of the old church of Bastan, with the church and inhabitants of Maier having no right in the church. The concession was witnessed by W., archdeacon of S. Martin, G. archdeacon of Biggorre, and B. of Bayonne, S. of *Irumndie*, A. of *Formated,* Julian d *Arribeire*, and R. of *Orcuit*-a mix of people from Iberia and France. The viscount of Bastan offered as guarantors S. Bonion d'Urtubie and Messeriath of Saut, and the witness of "all the good and honest men of Labort and Arberoe and Bastan" in Navarre.[61]

The people of Bastan and Maier continued to interact with the Church of Bayonne. Later documents for that church (in 1187, 1193, and 1198) included Phillip de Maier as archdeacon

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59 LOB, doc. 1 and 2, Pope Pascal confirmed the church's right to Bastan from the valley to the middle of the port of Belath, PAG-G54, Livre d'Or, doc. 2

60 LOB, doc.26, p.16 of G54-12-64.

61 PAG-G54, LOB, doc.54.

and S. de Maier as sacristan.[62] In addition, the abbot of Urdax, north of Bastan, identified only as A.B., was among the dignataries who supported the church of Bayonne in its suit against Raymond de Soler, Seneschal of Gascony in 1235.[63] The presence of these Navarrese in Bayonne demonstrates the relationships forged through Peter of Pamplona's patronage, while the dispute and settlement demonstrates how property concerns brought people from either side of the Pyrenees to interact.

Other places in Navarre that were connected to Bayonne were near of Guipuzcoa. Papal bulls of c. 980 and 1103 confirm the churches of San Cristophe and San Sebastian de Pusico and San Triana, and San Adrian, all in Guipuzcoa, as among the see's holdings. Moreover, a small part of the tithe of Saint Christophe in Guipuzoca had been sold to the bishop and canons of Bayonne by Peter Christoforo and his wife, B. for four livres.[64]

Peter of Pamplona also actively supported the monastery of Sainte-Foy-de-Conques in the Rouergue.[65] Sainte-Foy de Conques was associated with Iberia in several ways. First, the monastery's acquisition of its relics involved Spanish travels, according to the story of Aimoin, a monk of Conques. The monk Audaldus, had obtained the relics of Saint-Vincent of Zaragoza by travelling to Valencia in the ninth century and offered them initially to the monks at Conques but gave them to another monastery since they did not believe his story. After the relics of Saint Vincent were ensconced in another monastery, the monks of Conques, regretting their mistake,

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62 Phillip de Maier appears in Bayonne, in 1193, LOB doc. 34, when the bishop of Dax (son of Bertrand and ? of Orcoyun) affirms his fathers gift of all the heremus of Laburdensis to the Church of Bayonne in perpetuity as a witness with the title archdeacon of the church of Bayonne. In 1187, LOB doc. 42 an S. de Maier appears with the title sacristan when a dispute with the fraters of Saint John of Jerusalem is settled over the building of a church on land given to them in the see of Bayonne. Again in 1198, S. de Maier, sacristan, is present to witness the sale of some property to the Church of Bayonne for **1500 solidos Morlanenis.** It is possible that these are the same person and a transcription error turned a P into an S or there were two from Maier among the canons of Bayonne in the late twelfth century. The only surviving copy of these documents is a transcription from the thirteenth century.

63 LOB, Doc. 23.

64 LOB, docs. 46, 86.

65 Sinram, Marianne,"Faith and Bondage: The Spiritual and Political Meaning of Chains at the Church of Ste-Foy de Conques," *Representations of the Feminine in the Middle Ages*, Wheeler, Bonnie, ed., 281. Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Esapagne,* 139-140.

sought to obtain another of Saint Vincent's relics in Agen and eventually ended up with the relics of Sainte-Foy, absconded by trickery from her tomb in Agen. So, Sainte-Foy's first association with Iberia is through this back and forth tale of relic theft, originating with the relics of Saint Vincent of Zaragoza.

Sainte Foy and Iberia

The association of the figure of Sainte Foy with crusade and reconquest in Iberia has been discussed earlier. As a result of this association and the patronage of Iberian nobility, numerous Iberian churches were dedicated to the martyred saint and Sainte-Foy-de-Conques gained a significant number of properties in Aragon. One of the earliest was a church in Navarre at Ozliz around the time of King Robert II of France (996-1031). The church and all of its appurtenances were given to Sainte-Foy by Count Ebo in a ceremony in Conques. While the church, with houses, vineyards, terras and slaves, both male and female, were given to Conques, Ebo retained control of it during his life, remitting eight *mancusos* of gold to Sainte-Foy "annually for as long as I live."[66] The slaves are not described but it is not unreasonable to assume they were Muslim, similar to other Iberian slaves of this period discussed in previous chapters. As noted earlier, the gold coins and the term *mancusos* add to the likelihood that the donor had profitted from interactions with the Islamic world.[67] A 1065 a donation of land in Minorca to the monks of Sainte-Foy made by a traveler from that area, with the property description using the east-west-north-south in describing property boundaries seen in Toledo and Huesca Arabic language documents discussed in Chapter Four, and mentioned earlier in this chapter, is less common in Latin documents.

More typical of Sainte-Foye's acquisitions was the property at Garituan also in Navarre. There are six charters directly related to Garitoan published in DesJardins' cartulary. The

66 CNQ, doc.73, "in tale ratione ut quamdiu ego vivo, teneam, et omnibus annis quamdiu ego vivo, octo mancusios de aurum Sancte Fide per censum ego reddebo."

67 See fn p. 21, above, for disucssion of the term *mancuso* and rarity of gold coins in Sainte-Foy's records.

earliest, a statement of the exemption of Garitoan and its lord, Gasseu Cideritz, from obligations for pasture, *fossato*, and *anuduba*, an Arabic term for military service, is from the year 1032 and makes no reference to Sainte-Foy.[68] It is unclear how or why it is included in the documents of Sainte-Foy de Conques, except as some confirmation of their later exemption from such royal obligations, as the Arabic origin tax, the *anuduba*.

King Sancho Ramirez (1063-1094) of Aragon and Pamplona, a strong supporter of bishop Peter of Pamplona, did eventually made a gift to Sainte-Foy-de-Conques at Garitoan and "with the counsel and authority of Dominus Peter, venerable bishop of Pamplona." This was of "the *decimas*, *primicis* and all that is owed to the church" in order that a better parish church might be constructed there.[69] In a ceremony in 1086 in Najera with other bishops and dignitaries from Iberia in attendance, Bishop Peter of Pamplona conceded and confirmed the king's donation of the *decimas* and *primicis* of the church of Garitoan to Sainte-Foy.[70] As it was a tithe it should, of course, return to the bishop before being handed on to a monastic house. In 1092, Peter of Pamplona donated some additional churches in the area of Garitoan to Sainte-Foy, with a quarter of their bishop's tithe and some other incomes, in another ceremony attended by two of his archdeacons.[71]

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68 CNQ, doc.578. Although DesJardins dates this to 1076-1080, that cannot be the case. The date is given, ahead of the act, as in "Ora millesimo septuagesimo", in the [Spanish] era 1070, which would make it 1032. It then follows with, 'reigning serenely the abovesaid king by grace of God in Pamplona, in Aragon, in Suprarbe and in Ribacorza, in Gascony and in all Castile, ruling by Grace of God. And I, the abovesaid Sancius, king by grace of God, one along with my wife, Domina Momadona queen." The description of the territories, with the exception of Gascony, comports with the Aragonese kings, Sanche Ramirez (1076-1094) and his sons Pedro I (1094-1105) and Alfonso I (1105-1126), but none of these had a wife called Momdona. Sancho the Great(1004-1035), however, did have a wife named Momadona and was the last to include Castile as his territory. He was also the last Pamplona king to claim suzerainty over Gascony as well. In its last line, the document states "I, also, Garsia king of Pamplona this charter confirm and corroborate and make this sign t." Desjardins' dating is explained by an assumed copiest error and a misidentification of Sancius as Sancho Ramirez (1076-1094), but the contents make it clear that it was Sanch el Mayor for the date of 1032, with no copiest error needed.

69 CNQ, doc.576, the document refers to Galiton but according to Julio Altadill, "Geografia historica de Navarra" Garitoan and Galiton are the same, vanished place in Navarre, 161-162. Altadill y Torrontera de Sancho San Román, Julio, *Castillos medioevales de Nabarra* por Julio Altadill. Donostia, Beñat Idaztiak [1934-36].

70 CNQ, doc. 576.

71 CNQ, doc. 577.

Finally, when Peter of Pamplona was planning his journey to Jerusalem around 1100, he entrusted his money to the Abbot of Conques, Bégon III de Mouret, who, in turn, entrusted it to a brother of the abbey, Raimund de Mont Jurato.[72] According to later testimony, Raimund used the money to save a certain brother, perhaps as ransom. Upon his return, Bishop Peter of Pamplona, unable to regain most of the 300 morabitins of his money, had Pope Pascal IIexcommunicate the Bégon, abbot of Conques, the monk Raimond and his brother until a portion of the money had been repaid. Eventually, at a council of Toulouse, Peter's successor at Pamplona, Guillaume Gascon, released the abbey Conques from the offense. Still, when Abbot Bégon travelled to Pamplona for a consecration, he received recognition of his innocence from the new bishop and the canons of Pamplona when he stood before them and pledged his faith. This exchange demonstrates the close ties between Navarre and Sainte-Foye, as the abbot of Sainte-Foy was included in a consecration at Pamplone in Navarre long after its favorite son's death. Sainte-Foy's interest in maintaining good relationships with the see of Pamplona was keen enough that the abbot was willing to humbly plead his case before the bishop and canons in order to be restored to full faith. There is no mention in the document of the abbey's properties in the kingdom of Navarre but these were undoubtedly part of the motivation for the journey. An ally on the bishop's throne was necessary to effectively retain control of Conque's Iberian interests.

Not all of Sainte-Foy's holdings in Iberia were dependent on the see of Pamplona and answerable to Bishop Peter. Bishop Fulk of Barcelona, viscount of Cardona, was moved by the Gregorian reforms' intolerance for simony to donate a church in one of his castles, Tagamanent, to Sainte-Foy in 1099, 'because it was in bad order through simony,' rather than give up his own

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[72] CNQ, doc. 453, "Dominus Petrus Pampilonenesis episcopus, volens proficisci jheroslimam, 300 Moabitninos comisit B. Conchensis Abbati. major vero pars comissa est R. de Monte Jurato cuidam fratri, postea, veris indiciis, Moabitinos recuperavit. Raimnudus autem pro salvetate fratri suo nomine W. partem sibi comissam comendavi, sed minime recuperavit. Quapropter dominus episcopus a domino papa Pascali utrosque excomunicare fecit." The document lists the abbbot as simply 'B.', but it is more likely Bégon than Boniface, his successor, as it seems that someone writing in the time of Boniface would realize the ambiguity of the initial B, while someone in the time of Bégon III would not. That would place the events sometime between 1095 and 1107 which would comport with the papacy of Pascal II (1099-1118).

bishopric.[73] Pons, bishop of Barbastro, Bernard archbishop of Toledo, along with French abbots from Sainte-Foy and Agen attended the donation ceremony.[74] This conveyance of a church to a monastic community was a common antidote used by nobles under pressure: give up control of churches, their tithes, and their offices in the aftermath of the church reforms of the eleventh century.[75] The viscounts of Cardona were a rising family in the County of Barcelona who would eventually intermarry with the counts of Melgueil of Southern France.

Around the same time, Sancius, Count of *Erro* gave the church and almshouse of Roncevalles, along with its oven, mill, and property at Murello, Waldo and Janeriz to Sainte-Foy. While still living, the count made a postmortem gift to Sainte-Foy of the entire town of Roncevalles, with Peter of Pamplona's approval, a witness was Bishop Pons of Barbastro, another French bishop in Iberia.[76] Finally, in 1104, Pedro I king of Aragon gave the monks of Sainte-Foy the biggest and best mosque in Barbastro, excluding the bishop's seat, for the construction of a monastery. In addition, he gave them the *almunia* of al-Bentepiello "with all of its territory that it possessed on the day that Pedro [I] captured it in order to make his castle there."[77]

Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse

Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse was another benefactor of Bishop Peter of Pamplona's strong attachment to Southern France. Saint-Sernin was a house of canons in the city of Toulouse, founded in the ninth century. It was targeted by Cluny unsuccessfully for reform and conversion

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[73] CNQ, doc.467.

[74] CNQ, doc.467 'quod ad presens per simoniam male erat ordinate, que mihi contigit tum pro herditate parentum meorum, tum pro clericatu quam gratias Deo assumpsi. On Cardona family, see Shideler, John C., *A Medieval Catalonia Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000-1230,* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.

[75] See Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, on Gregorian reforms and monastic tithes.

[76] CNQ, doc.472.

[77] CNQ, doc.466, "Dono etiam ad presens illam almuniam del Bentepiello cum omnibus terminis et adjacentiis suis sicut habebat et possidebat die quo ego cepi fabricare illum meum castellum."

to the Benedictine Rule during the eleventh century but Saint-Sernin remained a house of Augustinian canons.[78] During the reign of King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon, Bishop Peter of Pamplona gave the church of Saint Sernin one fourth of the tithes of the church of Artajona, a town just south of Pamplona in Navarre. While Sancius' son, Pedro, is not mentioned in the body of this donation, his Arabic signature is included at the end of the text.[79] Just after he became king, Pedro I, in turn, approved the donation of the Church of Artajona to Saint Sernin in 1095 and the conveyance was approved by the Pope in 1096.[80] Saint Sernin of Toulouse built a house of canons attached to the church and it was rededicated to the martyr Saint Saturnin (Saint Sernin) along with other saints. In many donations it is referred to as the Church of Saint Sernin of Artajona or the canons of Saint Sernin of Artajona.

Saint Sernin's role in Artajona brought its community into the Iberian frontier, a borderlands, which made the canons useful allies of the Navarrese king. By donating the church to Saint-Sernin, Sancho reinforced a defensive structure, manned by loyal and dependent foreigners.[81] In return he gave them "all of the land now in or brought into cultivation in the territory of Artajona," and all his *meschinos*, in an arrangement by which the church would act as the king's surrogate, or *infantes,* with the *meschinos* owing their one tenth to the church of Artajona rather than to the king.[82] Since King Sancius described this donation of *meschinos* as being for the redemption of *their* souls, not the king's or his family's, they may not have been Christian, at least prior to the donation. At the same time, King Sancius established his own officer to be the *decimarius* of the church, to address reports of fraud and non payment of the tax

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78 Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *L'Introduction de la réforme grégorienne à Toulouse (fin XIe-début XIIe siècle)*, Toulouse: Centre régional de documentation pédagogique, 1958.

79 SST, doc.450.

80 Idem.

81 SST 682, see fn 30 above for text.

82 SST 453, see fn 31 above for text.

by the *meschinos*.[83] In this arrangement we see evidence of friction both between the local population and the king as well as between the local population and the church.

There are a total of 119 documents out of the 701 documents contained in the main cartulary of Saint-Sernin that concern the priory of Artajona and its properties. The importance of the Artajona priory to Saint-Sernin is thus reflected in the sheer number of documents produced to record its business and the frequency of Saint-Sernin's involvement in the affairs of Artajona. The most active representative of the Toulousan mother house was Hugh de Conques, appearing in no less than eleven charters related to Saint-Sernin of Artajona.

Hugh de Conques' identity and his tie to Conques is not clear. He is described once as a deacon and once as abbot of Saint-Sernin, but he was most often described as simply Hugh de Conques (*Ugo de Concis*). He was held in high esteem by both Pope Urban II, who called him "our cleric, well loved in the Roman Church," and by Bishop Peter of Pamplona, who styled him "our friend and faithful one."[84] He was often present in acts resolving disputes between Saint-Sernin and others so he may have been a negotiator or mediator of sorts on behalf of the canons. He resolved a dispute in Toulouse, concerning the selling of salt in an area where the canons had been given the sole right to hold markets, between Stap and the walls of Toulouse, with Willelmus de Vadegia and Augerio de Caramanio, "with the counsel and praise of the Countess [of Toulouse]."[85] He was present when a dispute was resolved in the bishop's court held at

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83 SST 453, "Similarly I give [the church] my *meschinos* so for the redemption of their souls the aforesaid might give to the church, or might sell or might commute so that the church might have freely and independently in perpetuity in the style of *infantibus,* and in such arrangement if my *meschinos* work their nine parts it might leave one part of the church free [from the king's share],″ "and because I heard many complaints that certain *meschini* fraudulently retained the *decimas* I want and praise that my *novenario* might always be the *decimarius* of the church so that no one is able to make fraud if they want to maintain my goodwill." This is not the only indication of friction between the Frenchman controlling the church and its lands and the surrounding population as there are several other references to this friction and resistance. See SST 671 and 672. The dispute with San Juan de Pena might also be a reflection of this friction, as we might imagine the neighbors siding with San Juan de Pena over the new arrivals.

84 SST, doc.485, "noster clericus, in romana ecclesia satis dilectus," and SST 682, "noster amicus et fidelis," respectively.

85 SST, doc.136.

Cluny over property usurped by Gerald de Rochfort.[86] He travelled back and forth across the Pyrenees, to Navarre, Zaragoza and Toledo, as well as to Rome, seeing to the affairs of Saint-Sernin.

It may have been the threat presented by San Juan de la Peña, which seemed to have some local support, to Saint-Sernin's control of the Artajona house and its property that spurred Hugh de Conques' involvement in Artajona's affairs. Although most of the charters that he participated in were not dated, he often acted in concert with Provost, then Abbot, Raymond Willelm, who appears in the first two decades of the twelfth century, but he was already active during the last years of the reign of King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon who died in 1094.[87] Consequently, we can ascribe Hugh's acts to the period between 1090 and 1125. The dispute between the canons of Saint-Sernin and the monks of San Juan de la Peña began, according to a letter from Bishop Peter of Pamplona to Archbishop Bernard of Toulouse, over the tithes of a church in the territory of Artajona inherited by a Toledan cleric, named Galindo. According to Peter, Galindo had given this *decima* to Saint-Sernin of Artajona "for all time" when Sancho de Arinzana was abbot of San Juan de la Peña, suggesting that the monks of San-Juan-de-la-Peña had some claim on this *decima,* but their claim is never fully articulated in documents preserved by Saint-Sernin. Later, Prior Sancius of Serapuz, perhaps a Navarrese dependency of San Juan de la Peña, came to the Toulousan canons and tried to reclaim the *decima*. The matter was brought before Bishop Peter of Pamplona, the ecclesiastical authority in the territory of Artajona, who not only ruled in Saint-Sernin's favor but excommunicated the Toledan cleric, Galindo and the priest of the disputed church, Pons. According to Peter of Pamplona's letter, in response to

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86 SST, doc.252.

87 See the introduction by Célestin Douais, p. xlii-xliii, for a list of documents for Raymond W. One of the few dated charters for Hugh de Conques, SST, doc.59, is dated 1119 in Tolouse. Also, doc. 452, written by King Sancius mentions Hugh' presentation of arguments on behalf of the Church of Saint Sernin before Bishop Peter of Pamplona.

this judgment, , Sancho's successor, Aimericus of San Juan de la Peña, pledged to return the *decima* to the church and the canons of Saint-Sernin.[88]

Peter's letter is followed by a charter issued by King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon regarding the dispute between the Abbot Aimericus of San Juan de la Peña and Hugh de Conques, the representative of Saint-Sernin de Toulouse.[89] After hearing the testimony of each side, as well as listening to arguments from another Frenchman, Abbot Frotaire from Saint-Pons-de-Thomiére, who had many ties to Aragonese affairs, the king of Aragon again ruled in favor of the canons of Saint-Sernin.[90]

This dispute demonstrates how monastic properties in Iberia drew Occitan people into the politics and society of the Iberian peninsula. The issue of Artajona was only settled with three Frenchmen present, Hugh de Conques, Abbot Frotaire, and Bishop Peter of Pamplona (although, one wonders whether they would have identified themselves as such--their ties being on both sides of the Pyrenees, they had become trans-Pyreneean). Earlier, Peter of Pamplona had sent a letter to the people of Artajona in which he excommunicated the Church of San Juan (de la Peña) of Artajona, all the priests who chanted there, and all the people who heard the divine office there, or brought donations to the church, and promised great penalties from the Count of Artajona. Singled out was Bonetus the priest who had performed a mass in the Church. Peter's excommuication was confirmed by King Sancho.[91]

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88 SST, doc.451 Peter's letter, however, seems to be a recounting to Bernard of Toledo for the purpose enlisting hiñs help in addressing a more recent challenge by San Juan de Peña which is not explained.

89 SST, docs.452, 454, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 666, 681.

90 Sancho Ramirez' son Ramiro was a monk at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, the monastery had a close relationship with San Juan de la Peña, and Frotaire had acted as a papal legate to Iberia and a strong supporter of Sancho Ramirez' campaigns against Muslim territory. Defournaux, and André de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe*, 462.

91 SST, doc.487, "Sapiatis quod ill ecelsia de Sancto Johanne de Artaxona est excommunicata, donec sit reddita ad canonicos de Sancto Saturnino; et omnes presbiteri qui in ea cantaverint, erunt excommunicati. Et omnes homines qui in ea divinum officium audierint, vel oblationes aportaverint, erunt maledicti, et erunt excommunicati, et peitabun magnam calumniam comiti, sicut rex mandavit michi. Valete, et si non ene istam excommunicationem, eritis fortiter pignorati in mercato de Pampilona. Bonetus, presbiter, qui in ella eclesia cantat, est excommunicatus pro sua magna culpa."

During the reign of Sancho's son, Alfonso I of Aragon, Bishop Stephen of Huesca, Sancho of Calagurritanus, Peter of Zaragoza, and Michael of Tarazona returned a judgment in favor of the canons of Saint-Sernin against San-Juan-de-la-Peña for a fourth time, with the confirmation of King Alfonso.[92]The recalcitrant abbot and the prior of San Juan in Artajona required the direct intervention of King Alfonso I and Archbishop Bernard of Toledo before they complied with the judgment. The repeated refusals by San-Juan-de-la-Peña and the Artajona residents to comply, may be an indication of resistance to what was perceived as French hegemony, at least north of the Pyrenees, as well as resistance to distant authorities, ecclesiastic and royal, typical of a frontier region.

By 1145, the initiative was taken by the townspeople when again the canons of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse called on the bishop of Pamplona for help with another dispute. This time the dispute was between the canons of Toulouse and the *vicinos* of Artajona. Bishop Lupo of Pamplona and King Garcia of Navarre both supported the Occitan canons. Again we see in these disputes a resistance on a local level to French influence, as well as an exploitation by the *vicinos* of the distance between Artajona and Toulouse. Saint-Sernin's political and financial stake in Artajona often brought the attention of representatives of the Toulouse canons to Navarre.[93]Thus, in addition to representing the interests of Saint Sernin de Toulouse in disputes, Hugh de Conques actively expanded the property holdings of the priory. Among Hugh's acts on its behalf were a number of purchases or exchanges for *horti,* vineyards, *terrae,* a lake, and a *casal.* In addition, he prevente the office of sacrtstan from being usurped by a local family.[94]

Hugh of Conques was not the only Frenchman drawn to Artajona by Saint Sernin. Abbot Frotaire of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières and Bishop Peter of Pamplona both travelled to Artajona in

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92 SST, doc.486. While Alfonso is styled imperator in this document, the inclusion of dignitaries from Tarazona (bishop and archdeacon) makes it more likely to be Alfonso I who conquered the city in the province of Zaragoza in 1119.

93 SST, doc.489 "Hec est carta de illa discordia que orta est temporibus domni Lupi, Pampilonensis episcopi, et regis Garsie, inter canonicos Tolose et filios clericos et vicinos de Artaxona."

94 SST, docs.451, *455*, 456, 479, 612, 614, 615, 667, 673.

support of Saint-Sernin in the dispute with San-Juan-de-la-Peña over the Artajonese church.[95] In addition, Bishop Arnald of Carcassone travelled to Artajona in 1126 for the dedication of the new church built by Saint-Sernin, when he brought with relics of Saint Sernin, Sainte Foy, Saint Calixtus, Saint Exupery, and the martyred saints Velosian and Yrene.[96]

Saint Sernin's association with Artajona and other cross-Pyrennean connections drew Iberians to France as well. Around the same time that Bishop Arnold of Carcassone travelled to Artajona, , Bruno de Artajona gave fifty solidos Morlanenses to the Hospital of Saint Raymond in Toulouse so that they would provide, on the festival of Saint Exupery, an annual luncheon for the canons of Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse and others, with not only "bread and wine, but two meat or fish dishes according to the day."[97] Whether Bruno was a transplant from Artajona or a temporary sojourner is not clear, but other Iberians were clearly only visitors. Sancho Fortuniones was in Toulouse on his way to Jerusalem "with other pilgrims" when he sold his *terras* in Artajona to Lord Hugh of Conques and the church of Saint-Sernin for 70 solidos Poitevin money. Two of Sancius' guarantors, Senior Garcia Arceiz de Ucar and Senior Orti Ortiz de Loza, were also from the area of Pamplona and the witnesses were Bernard de Carroph, and Brother Lord Garcia Arceiz and "all the pilgrims who were with him there."[98] After Sancho subsequently died, his mother, Andremancia de Coien, and his brothers or sons (the text is

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95 SST, docs.682, 451.

96 SST, docs.664, 1126.

97 SST, doc.14, "Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris, quod Bruno de Artaxona donavit Arnaldo Agili, elemosinario Sancti Riamundi, et ceteris habitatoribus iipsius, L solidos Morlanenses, tali conventioune ut in festivitate sancit exuperii, que celebratur IIII kalendas octobris, donet ipse Arnaldus Agiiis et successores eius et ceteri habitatores Sancte Raimundi semper annuatim prandium canonicis Sancti Saturnini et ceteris tantum, quibus donant qui menses faciunt hoc est panem et vinum et de duabus carnibus vel piscem si dies talis fuerit."

98 SST, doc.465, "Ego Senior Sancio Fortuniones, filius Andremancie de Coien, cum essem in Tolosa, in via motus Jerusalme, vendidi domno Ugoni de Conchis et ecclesie Sancti Saturnini illas terras que sunt in Artaxona, a quo accepi LXX sol. Pictavensium denariorum; et posui firmas Senior Garcia Arceiz de Ucar, et Senior Orti Ortiz de Loza, et Raimundum Pede Lupi. Testis fuit Bernardus de Carroph; et testis fuit frater Senioris Garcie Arceiz, et omnes illi peregrini qui cum eo erant tibi, et qui fuerunt cum eo in Ierusalem. Ego vero defuncto in reditu et sepulto in Sancta Maria de Iraz, hanc venditionem laudavit domina Andremancia, mater eius, et filii eius, Exemen Fortuniones, et Ossarra in Ponte Regine, Domino Deo et Sancto Saturnino, audientibus hominibus qui morantur in eodem loco.

ambiguous), Exemen Fortuniones and Ossarra, confirmed the sale in in Pamplona.

When Peter Ainard and his wife Raimunda, with their children, Stephan and Lombarda, known as the Petri Ainardi, sold their allodial holdings in Castelgenest and Vila Aigon (near Toulouse) to the church of Saint-Sernin and Hugh of Conques, among the witnesses to the sale were Raimund, prior of Artajona, Vitalis de Infirmaria and Fortun Semeroiz and Don Arnaldus canon, Peter Munio and Stephan de Damiac. After the exchange in Toulouse, Peter Ainard's grandson, Asenardus, guaranteed the sale, and his son, Stephan, confirmed it, in Pamplona.[99] In this sale we can see how a web of relationships was created across the Pyrennees, as generations crossed back and forth between Toulouse and Navarre, creating the impetus for relationships and travel in both directions.

La-Sauve-Majeure and Iberian Crusade

The Benedictine monastery of La-Sauve-Majeure near Bordeaux, as well as receiving donations from from Peter of Pamplona, was also the beneficiary of several gifts of properties in the Ebro Valley from the Aragonese kings. Through a series of gifts over several years during the time of Abbot Gerald (1079-1095), La-Sauve-Majeure, received the *villa* and castle of Ruesta, along with numerous churches and other properties from King Sancho Ramirez of Navarre and Aragon. Sancho (son of the previous Aragonese king, Ramiro, and his French wife, Ermesinda of Bigorre) had also married a French woman, Felicia de Roucy, daughter of Count Hilduin III de Roucy and sister of Ebles de Roucy, an early promoter of Iberian Crusade and papal rights in Iberia.[100] King Sancho Ramirez was involved in the short-lived conquest of Barbastro in 1063-4, accomplished with significant French support from Duke Guy-Geoffrey of Aquitaine, Peter of Carcassone, Thibaut of Champagne, and Guillaume Crespin of Normandy, among the many others who took part in the siege and the spoils of Barbastro.[101]

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[99] SST, doc.409.

[100] Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 139.

[101] Ibid., 131-134, and 150.

In two undated charters, King Sancho Ramirez with his son, Pedro, and his wife, Felicia gave La-Sauve-Majeure several churches in Ruesta and Tierma, along with the castle of Ruesta. In the earlier act, he donated to La-Sauve-Majeure the church of Saint-James, situated below Ruesta Castle, as well as all of the chuches in the villa of Ruesta and another in the villa of Tierma, along with all of their appurtenances, including the *honor* of Ruesta Castle, as well as "all rights that will be acquired over the Saracens in Iberia."[102] With this initial donation, La-Sauve-Majeure gained a tangible stake in the Iberian crusade.

In the second donation, (which referenced the previous donation), King Sancho recounted the role of La-Sauve-Majeure in bringing the Roman rite to the peninsula.[103] Thus, we know that Sancho had introduced the Roman Rite in Navarre and Aragon shortly after his father's death but because the previous donations to La-Sauve-Majeure had not been enough to sustain the monks sent to Aragon, King Sancho added additional churches, land and rights in Tiermas, Ruesta and Sos, as well as an annual payment of 60 solidos, 20 at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, respectively, from Castle Ruesta. The rights to *decima* included on lands, vineyards, mills, and animals, but also on pleas, homicide, and forfeitures. King Sancho also confirmed the donations made by the hermit, Hugo, of houses, mills and farmland along the pilgrimage route to Compostella near Oleron, the *Camino Franco,* at Somport, Canfranc (Campo Franco) and Pont Austurici.[104]

The donations to La-Sauve-Majeure were more tied to French assistance in the Iberian crusades than was any other monastic patronage by Iberian monarchs. In 1084, Sancho, Felicia and Pedro donated the mosques of Ejea to La-Sauve in anticipation of the conquest of this

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[102] SMC, doc.1236, "videlicet in illa parte terre que ad honorem castelli Rostri pertinet i nagris in vienis atque in moinis and in denariis, in pecoribus vel in iumentis et in omni re sicut superius dixi et de his omnubus que adquirenda sunt super Sarracenos in Hispaniis."

[103] SMC, doc.1221, "Hactenus in Hispania raro fuit chrtiana religio servata, sed, postquam lex romana a sanctis patribus constituta nostris temporibus introducitur ac nubilosus error veniente luce propellitur, advenientibus est diversis partivus clericis et monachis Ecclesia Christi dilatatur. Itaque quidam monachi ad me venerunt qui s messos a domino Geraldo, Silve Maioris abbate, dixerunt."

[104] loc cit.

territory from Muslim hands.[105] The conquest of Ejea did not occur until 1106 and with considerable French participation, under Alfonso VI.[106] Bishop Peter of Pamplona added gifts of the church of Saint Peter of Ruesta, the church of Tierma, Saint Maria of Argilalee in Pintano, the chapel of Unocastillo, along with *decimas* of the *paria* of Ejea, and the decima of the vineyards of Lusia to the list of La-Sauve-Majeure's holdings in 1087, with King Sancho and his son, Pedro, affirming with their signatures.

In 1084, Sancho with his son, Pedro, expanded on his previous promise of " all these that will be acquired over the Saracens in Iberia," giving all the mosques of Ejea (still Muslim territory in 1084) to Sauve-Majore and all the *decimas* of the territory of Ejea in fields, vineyards, ovens and all crimes."[107] In 1091, he again gave the *decima* of the *paria* of Ejea and Patrele to La-Sauve-Majeure, and all of the *decimas* and *primicis* of Patrele and Seiae when they are aquired from the Muslims, in the presence of Bishops Peter of Pamplona and Peter of Iaca.[108] La-Sauve-Majeure would have a tenth of the paria of Ejea and Patrele, and when conquered, the mosques to be turned into churches.

In 1093 in Unocastilo, Sancho and his son, Pedro, gave an annual sum of 400 solidos of the money of Jaca to the almshouse/hospice of Tiermas, along with the burgus of Saint Peter of Ruesta, which was obligated to contribute three *solidos* per household of the same money to the *elemosinaria.* In addition, the almshouse received those houses with their *hereditas* and all that they have. The almshouse was to be in the control of his sister, Sancha, for her lifetime, but reverted to the monastic lords of Saint James of Ruesta's care at her death. Bishop Peter of Pamplona, along with several other Aragonese bishops, witnessed this donation.[109] He had

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105 SMC, doc.1224.

106 Stalls, *Possessing the Land,* 26-27, and Defourneaux, 152-154.

107 SMC, doc.1224

108 SMC, doc.1225, Although dated (Spanish) era 1134 (MCXXXIIII) which would be *Anno Domini* 1096, this is impossible since King Sancho died in 1094 and his wife, Felicia, died in 1091. It is likely there was a scribal error. The date should have read (Spanish) era 1129 (MCXX**V**IIII rather than MCXXXIIII) making it *Anno Domini* 1091.

109 SMC, doc.1222.

conceded Sancho's earlier donations of churches to La-Sauve-Majeure in 1087, including the church of Saint-James of Ruesta.[110] As a final act of patronage, Sancho's last will and testament, carried out by his son and heir, Pedro I, asked that a poor person be admitted to La-Sauve-Majeure at his death, and at the death of each of his successors, with the chapter responsding, "Amen fiat, fiat."[111]

Alfonso I, of King Sancho's son and the successor of Pedro I, most actively continued his father's patronage of La-Sauve-Majeure. His earliest act on behalf of La-Sauve-Majeure was a letter to 'you, all the barons of Tiermas, of Ruesta, of Silvagan, of Villera, of Es and of Renna, my *fideles,"* ordering them to stop interfering and charging the hospice at Ruesta for use of the mountains, fields, and waters for the business of the hospice, or they would be charged 60 solidos by the king. If the hospice was a stop on the pilgrimage route to Compostella, Alfonso's letter corroborates the claims of the Pilgrim's Guide of the *Codex Calixtus*, warning of local barons extorting fees from pilgrims, despite the king's orders against it.[112]

Alfonso also sent a warning to 'you, all the entire council of the Moors of Egea, my *fideles*," admonishing them for withholding the *decima* due Saint-James of Ruesta on lands held from Christians.[113] The similarity in wording and subject matter make it likely that this undated letter was composed at around the same time (1116) as the letter to the barons above. Both admonish his faithful servants to stop doing harm to the assets of La-Sauve-Majeure given by his father, both use the verb *pesat*--weigh--to describe the effect of their offenses, and both provide a monetary penalty for continuing the behavior and offer love and faithfulness as a reward for

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110 SMC, docs.1237, 1238, and 1239.

111 SMC, doc.1234.

112 SMC, doc.1228 "Adefonsus, Dei Gratia imperator, ad vos totos barones de Termas et de Rosta, et de Silvagan et de Villera et de Es et de Renna meso fideles, in Monino salutem." For Pilgrims' Guide see, Gerson, et al., *The Pilgrim's Guide: a Critical Edition,* vol. II, p. 25.

113 SMC, doc.1227, "Adefonsus, Dei gratia rex, vobis toto conzelio de illos Moros de Exeseia meos fideles, salutem."

compliance. So Alfonso's first two actions on behalf of La-Sauve-Majeure were attempts to regain rights granted by his father.[114]

The final act by Alfonso on behalf of La-Sauve, similar to some of King Sancho's donations, was leading to an expansion of La-Sauve-Majeure's holdings in Iberia. In 1126, while in UnoCastillo with his French allies, Alfonso gave to La-Sauve-Majeure two mosques and the *decimas* of Molina, a town still under Muslim control, along with a promise of two more unnamed and, presumably, yet to be conquered, *'bonas villas in Hispaniam."*[115] The town of Molina was taken by Alfonso during his campaign for Valencia in 1129, in which both of the French nobles, Centulle, Count of Bigorre, and Gascon, Visount of Béarn, participated.[116]

Other donations and charters related to La-Sauve-Majeure's interests in Iberia were diverse and at times involved Arabophone people and institutions. In 1241 Prior Robert of Saint James of Ruesta bought a mill from Lady Maiora of Ruesta and her sons and daughters in the *capiterso molinos* of Soto Mian. As part of the transaction, Lady Maiora provided *fiatores,* guarantors of the sale just as in the Arabic language sales in Huesca, and one of them affirmed the transaction "*in aliala."*[117] This borrowed Arabic word, sometimes written in Latin script as *alihala,* is a transliteration of the Arabic *al-khifara,* which was a fee paid by a purchaser as a guarantee, sometimes in the form of a meal or food. The word is derived from *khafir* or guarantor and was a part of the process of ensuring the security of a sales agreement.[118] *Alihala*

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114 Add Latin of both documents here. It is possible there was also a document in Arabic as we have seen sometimes used in Huesca in transactions involving both Muslims and Christians.

115 SMC, doc.1226, "[Adefonsus] dono domino Deo et Sancte Mariae de Silva et suis monachis duas meschitas in Molina cum iure hereditate, ut habeat in perpetuo. Insuper promitto ei duas bonas villas in Hispaniam."

116 Defourneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne,*152-154.

117 SMC, doc.1241.

118 Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne, Willem Herman Engleman, Glossaire des Mots Espagnols et Portugais Dérivés de l'Arabe, p.141, and Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne, Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes, vol. 1, p. 386, col. 2, "خفير protecteur, surtout celui qui escorte et défend le voyageurs pendant leur route; la protection que l'on accorde soit à des personnes sédentaires, soit à des voyageurs, Un impôt qu'on lève, en récompense de la protection qu'on accorde aux habitants d'un lieu, ou à des voyageurs." While the Arabic associates the fee with travel, it is the role of the guarantor, khifar, that extends the meaning to contracts for immovable property such as a mill.

appears in two other sales related to La-Sauve-Majeure. In 1115 Robert, a monk for the abbey of La-Sauve-Majeure bought a house located before the gate of the castle in Uncastillo from Lope Sanz and his wife for a price of twenty solidos. The transaction again involved *fidiatores,* the *alcalde* Exemeno Garcieo, Acibello Fertungo Ferrero, Geraldo Lolplh, son of Bita Lope, and Johans de Sibrana, and again included *alihala* at San ? and San ?. Another purchase of a house and gardens, in 1138 by Aimeric, the prior of Saint James of Ruesta, involved affirmers and pledgers and *"alifala* was given at Saint James, on the seventh *kalends* of August, of bread, wine, meat, fish, cheese, eggs, and other foods, abundantly."[119] In this instance, *alifala* represented a rather generous banquet given by the monastery as an additional fee to the sellers.

Several other Iberian charters of La-Sauve-Majeure involved Jewish and Muslim participants. In Alfonso I's letter to the Moors of Ejea, described above, in which Alfonso enjoined the Muslim inhabitants of Ruesta who held lands from Christians to pay the *decima* owed to Saint James of Ruesta, another Arabic institution was evoked.[120] The consequences threatened by Alfonso if his demand was not met was that they would owe the king 1000 solidos and "they would lose all their *avere,* so if they loved the king and would have his loyalty, they would not fail."[121] This term likely refers to the Arabic term, *al-bar*, meaning surrounding territory or area outside the city, indicating the Muslims had territory that they would stand to lose if they did not comply with the king's demand.[122] The same admonition was made to

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119 SMC, doc.1251, "et dederunt illam casam et illos ortales a per L sol. et fuerunt fermes Johan Raimon et johan fiilus, Garcia Fortinones; et fuerunt auditores Garsion, Matheus, Arnaudus abbas de Vilela, Nicholaus, Bonetus, Laurentius, et omnes alii vicini. Et fuit data alifala in Sancto Jacobo, VII kalends augusti, de pane et vino et de carne et de pscibus et caseis et ovis et aliis civis abundanter."

120 SMC, doc.1227, detailed above.

1239, Bonefacius monk of Sainte-Foy wrote charter But in Iberia Peter of Pamplona.

121 SMC, doc.1227, "et totos illos Moros qui tenuerint illas hereditates qui ad Christianos pertinent et non dederint decima ad illo prior de Sancti Jacobi peccabunt mihi mille solidos et perdebunt toto suo avere. Et se me amatis bel in me fiducia habetis, ho non fallat."

122 Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne and Willem Herman Englemann, Glossaire des Mots Espagnols et Portugais Dérivés de l'Arabe, p. 63, and Dozy, Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes, p. 62, col. 2, bara, and Coriente, Federico, Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loanwords: Spanish, Portuguese, Catalonia, Gallician and Kindred Dialects, Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 59.

Christian nobles but with only the monetary threat as penalty; no loss of territory was threatened.[123] *This may reflect the relative vulnerability of the Muslim inhabitants vis-a-vis their Christian neighbors*.

Like other French monasteries with Iberian holdings, La-Sauve-Majeure at times met resistance from the local population. In a letter written between 1221 and 1235, the Bishop of Comminges and (NAME) Abbot of La-Sauve wrote to the Bishop of Sargossa concerned about the usurpation of the rights of La-Sauve-Majeure to appoint prebends in the churches of the city of Ejea by the people.[124]

Around the same time, when Lady Tota donated houses, *terras,* vineyards and their appurtenances to La-Sauve-Majeure and Saint-James of Ruesta for the soul of her husband and his Aunt Belita, from whom the property had come, the witnesses to her gift were "those people of Ruesta, Christians and Jews."[125] During the time of Robert as abbot of Saint James of Ruesta, he exchanged two vineyards with Jacob Judeus, one in Sotonian and another in Ennerocal for two *fassas* in front of the *piño* de Custodia. Given Ruesta's location in the borderlands of the Ebro valley, the Jewish population was likely Arabic speaking, even if they also knew Romance vernaculars.[126] So from these charters we can see that La-Sauve-Majeure's holdings in Iberia brought with it interaction with the Arabic and Jewish speaking population as well as involvement with borrowed institutions and conventions.

The La-Sauve-Majeure documents also reveal interactions with the Jewish population of Bordeaux. When Theoderic, son of Anselm, wanted to leave the military life and turn to the monastery of Blessed Virgin Mary of La-Sauve-Majeure, among the possessions he donated was

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123 SMC, doc.1228, detailed above.

124 SMC, doc.1221

125 SMC, doc.1242 "[Domna Tota] misit illa radice de Arrosta casales, terras et vineas et quantum ad ipsa pertinent; misit pr anima de suo marito S. garcia Fortnions et por anima de sua tia dona Belita que ill arradice pertinerent et pro animabus vel parentum suorum misit ad Sancta Maria de Silva maior et ad Sancti Jacobi de Arrosta et sunt testes illos homines de Arrosta christianos et judeos."

126 See discussion of the language question in Chapter 2.

his dwelling in Bordeaux that was located between the cloister of Saint-Croix and the dwellings of the Jews. While the description implies there was no great distance between Theoderic's dwelling and the Jewish homes, the phrasing implies a concentration of Jewish dwellings in a particular area.[127] But it is also clear there were interactions between the Jewish community and the Christian community. In 1226, La-Sauve-Majeure received in mortgage the decima of the church of Saint-Laupe from B. Dangludes, a *miles*, in exchange for 1000 solidos to be paid to Isaac, a Jew in Bordeaux, who held the decima in mortgage from the miles, B.[128]

As a result of their Iberian properties, their support for crusade, and their status as a pilgrimage destination approximate to the via Tolosano, La-Sauve-Majeure's charters contain numerous references to Occitan men and women in Iberia. In 1125 Count Centulle II of Bigorre (r.1113-1129) and Viscount Gaston V of Béarn (1090-1131), brothers, were witnesses when Alfonso I exchanged parcels of land for a cemetery for Saint Stephan with land belonging to La-Sauve-Majeure and confirmed earlier donations to La-Sauve-Majeure and Saint James of Ruesta in Uncastillo.[129] It was natural for the the French brothers to be in Alfonso's entourage as they had participated in numerous military campaigns in Iberia betwwen 1104 and 1131, including the fateful Siege of Fraga, and Gaston de Béarn, after marrying Alfonso's cousin, Talesa, carried the title Lord of Zaragoza. Shortly after his father's death, the son of Gaston de Béarn and Talesa of Aragon, Viscount Centulle VI de Béarn (1131-1134), confirmed his father's gift of a church in Oleron to the monks of La-Sauve-Majeure. The confirmation was made "near the city of Oleron in the hand of Raimund del Mollnar, a monk from La-Sauve-Majeure, at the house of Peter Audeger, his custom's agent."[130] Tetbaldus d'Aspa and Anarquet d'Aspa, undoubtedly relatives of Gaston d'Aspe of Béarn, a participant in 1106 with Centulle de Bigorre and Gaston de Béarn

127 SMC, doc.901.

128 SMC, doc.1217.

129 SMC, doc.966.

130 SMC, doc.1250.

in the Siege of Ejea. In these acts we can see how monastic affiliations and Iberian reconquest involved multilpe generations in Iberia in a complex web of associations.

Raimund del Mollnar, who received Gaston de Béarn's confirmation for La-Sauve, was present again when the prior of Saint James de Ruesta sold a house with two *hortales* that had belonged to Sancho Bazons, to the priest, Aimericus, in a transaction that after included *alifala,* as described above.[131] Although these two transactions involving Raimund took place in Oleron and Ruesta, respectively, Raimund was also a participant in many transactions at La-Sauve-Majeure during the same period, indicating that he was only a temporary visitor to Iberia.[132]

Bernard de la Mota, the excommunicant who sought approval to go on pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella from La-Sauve-Majeure's abbot, had a long family association with the monastery and was among a group who acted on the monastery's behalf in both France and Iberia.[133] Another family, the Lamota, often appeared with the Laubesc family, who served as abbots and priors at La-Sauve-Majeure and in Iberia. Both families had family members described as *miles*. W. de LaMota is also described as being a *conversus,* a military man who turned to the religious life, late in the twelfth century when he gave himself and some land to La-Sauve-Majeure.[134] William de LaMota had made amends to La-Sauve-Majeure for unexplained injuries prior to embarking on pilgrimage to Compostella. Both families acted as guarantors and witnesses for La-Sauve-Majeure. It seems likely that these families were involved in the Iberian crusades as well as pilgrimage and conversion to the monastic life, as they travelled across the Pyrennees for various purposes.[135]

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131 SMC, doc.1251, see discussion above.

132 SMC, docs.66 in 1133, 149, 239, before 1155, 261, 303, 548.

133 SMC, doc.608

134 See Constance Berman, "Distinguishing between the Humble Peasant Lay Brother and Sister and the Converted Knight in Southern France," in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400,* Emilia Jamroziak and Janet E. Burton, eds., Turnhout: Brepols Publisher, 2007, 263-283. Our *conversus* was more likely the latter.

135 Bernard de Lamothe in Catharism, along with other family members. *Cathars et Vaudois en Perigord, Quercy et Agenais*. William 99 (1107-1118, fiduciary, no title) 124 (1107-1118, no title, witness), 154 (1126-1147 witness, no title), 176 (1095-1097), 186 (no date, list of tenants witness), 215 (1126-1147 brothers, conceding gift, 296 (1126-47 miles), 668 (William Raimund not prior or monk or miles), 857 list of obituaries, 863 (1226, referred to as

Others also appeared regularly in the charters at La-Sauve-Majeure and in Iberia are Peter Juliano and Bonafacius, two of the witnesses to an agreement between the monks of Saint James of Ruesta and Fortunio regarding a house in Tiermas and its vineyards, along with the *meschinus*, Enec Acenar. Peter Juliano and Bonafacius also appear in two charters for La-Sauve-Majeure together, and Peter Juliano, sometimes referred to as Peter Julian de Rionz or Peter Julian, *miles*, witnessed two additional documents without Bonafacius.[136]

Other Occitan men appear in the Iberian charters of La-Sauve-Majeure as legates and holders of church offices. Archbishop Peter of Pamplona played a significant role in La-Sauve-Majeure's early royal donations. He was present for Sancho Ramirez's gifts of the burg of Saint Peter of Ruesta along with 400 solidos of the money of Jaca to the hostel of Tiermas, which would eventually be controlled by the seniors of the daughter house of Saint-James of Ruesta.[137]As was noted earlier, Peter was present and acknowledged the donation of several churches in the territories of Ruesta, Tiermas and Algilalee to La-Sauve-Majeure. [138]

In France, there were a number of Occitan men who were involved in Iberia and also with La-Sauve-Majeure. The dukes of Aquitaine were tied to Iberia through crusading and marriage, with daughters married with both the royal families of Castile and Aragon, over repeated generations.. Guy-Geoffrey, whose two daughters married Iberian monarchs, also patronized and encouraged support for La-Sauve-Majeure. He provided the monks exemption from the tax on salt transport on the Gironde Estuary and other revenues to fund lights for the

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monk) Bernard de LaMota & Amanevus de Lamota, miles gift, 921 (witnessed a concession after dispute over a 'man' and unjust exactions with, P. de Fraga) 960 (same as 963), 962 (same as 963), 963(no date, prior of Exeie)gifts of marqueza de Baigneuax, sister of Bertrand), 986 (1184-1192 prior of Exeie, helias de lamota), 1182 (1200, prior but with brothers), 1185 (1194-1201, donation of William de lamota), 1216 (1227 referred to as miles) w. de lamota 988 (1184-1192, Raimund de Laubesc abbot), 1185.

136 SMC, doc.1012 is a letter from Bishop of Comminges and abbot of La-Sauve-Majeure to the bishop of Sargossa in 1221-35 about the usurpations of the rights of La-Sauve-Majeure by the people of Ejea to appoint prebends in the churches of the city.

137 SMC, doc.1235.

138 SMC, docs.1237, 1238, 1239.

monastery.[139] He was also instrumental in obtaining recognition by the council of Bordeaux for La-Sauve-Majeure's rights.[140] He granted the monastery the right to hold an annual fair and granted that anyone who held a fief from him could donate it to the monastery to be held in allod.[141]It is likely that a others who witnessed his acts for La-Sauve-Majeure also accompanied him on the Barbastro campaign. We do know that Centulle of Bigorre, Senior of Tarazona, was in attendance at Bordeaux and participated in numerous Iberian campaigns, including in Barcelona, Ejea, Granada and Valencia, and the siege of Fraga.[142]

The House of Aquitaine's patronage and its association with pilgrimage was recognized by La-Sauve-Majeure. Guy Geoffrey's importance to the monastery was recognized by the first abbot, Gerald, who established a weekly prayer in recognition of his gifts and his protection for the monastery and its goods, including the protection of pilgrims on the roads in Aquitaine.[143] After Guy Geoffrey's heir, William IX, had affirmed his father's donations, Abbot Geoffrey II (1121-1126) assembled the barons and princes of Aquitaine to hear the aforementioned charter read aloud and to sign in affirmation of it.[144] While the charter does not reproduce the original charter, it is likely that one previously affirmed by the barons of the area in Guy Geoffrey's time, related to the rights of the monastery in Aquitaine and Bordeaux. Among the barons signing to affirm William IX's affirmation were Helias Talleyrand and Helias de LaMota. William X Duke of Aquitaine continued the family tradition by affirming his father's gifts to La-Sauve-Majeure,

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139 SMC, doc.13, 1078 -1080 William of Aquitaine provided rights to salt transport on the Gironde, and other revenues for lights, confirmed by council of Bordeaux. Centulle de Béarn again attends with Almeric viscount, later ceremony attended by all bishops in Aquitaine.

140 SMC, doc.15 1079-1086 Guy Geoffrey "wido dictus pictavensium comes egregius totiusque Aquitanie dux. SM recognized by council of Bordeaux under penalty of excommunication.

141 SMC, doc.14 This is essentially the equivalent of later French amortissement with a waiver of the fee due the fief holder. On amortissement development, see Medieval France: an Encyclopedia, ed. William K. Kibler, particularly, "Abregement du fief," by John Bell Henneman, Jr., 4-5.

142 Deforneaux, *Les Francais en Espagne*, 160.

143 SMC, doc.18.

144 SMC, doc.19.

not long after his father died on pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella, as did Eleanor of Aquitaine while she was married to King Louis VII as the heir to Aquitaine. Aldebert, Bishop of Agen, also confirmed William X's charter. [145]

The Counts of Bigorre were similarly engaged in Iberian marriages and military campaigns and patronage of La-Sauve-Majeure. Centulle V of Bigorre was present when a recalcitrant lord was brought before authorities in Bordeaux and forced to concede the tithe owed to La-Sauve-Majeure.[146] In 1079, he was one of the witnesses when Guy Geoffrey granted exemption from taxes for salt transport on the Gironde and other revenues to La-Sauve-Majeure.[147] A year after Guy Geoffrey's death, he witnessed the young William IX as he confirmed his father's grant of rights of justice to La-Sauve-Majeure in Bordeaux and, again, in 1089, he witnessed the confirmation by William IX who ceded his comtal rights to administer justice to La-Sauve-Majeure.[148]

In Aragon, Centulle was also active in the entourage of Alfonso I. In 1125, he was present when Alfonso I settled a dispute over cemetery rights between La-Sauve-Majeure monks in Unocastillo and the townspeople, a settlement that involved Peter of Pamplona as well.[149] In 1126, he witnessed another act by Alfonso I in Unocastillo giving La-Sauve-Majeure two mosques in Molina with tithes and promising two 'bonas villas' in addition.[150] He also confirmed the gift of his father, Gaston de Béarn, in which he gave La-Sauve-Majeure exemption

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145 For William X, see SMC, doc.43, William X confirms father's charter of SM (father who died near SJ de Compostella, Wm. IX), Aldebert of Agen bishop was present. For Eleanor, see SMC, doc.1280. Louis also confirmed the previous gifts in SMC, docs.1278 and1279.

146 SMC, doc.10 1079-1095.

147 SMC, doc.13.

148 SMC, docs.17 and 20.

149 SMC, doc.966.

150 SMC, doc.1226.

from *teloneum* (duties on commerce and transport) and *vectigal* (rent or custom paid by dependents) in Oleron.[151]

After Centulle's death in 1129, Peter, the husband of Beatrice, the heiress to the County of Bigorre, also participated in Iberian crusades and La-Sauve-Majeure support. In 1135, Duke William X gave the town of Boga to La-Sauve-Majeure and asked Peter, Count of Bigorre, along with the other barons of Marsan, to give the church of Boga to the monastery.[152] Afterwards, in Peter of Bigorre's court, Bishop BonHomme of Aire gave the church of Boga to La-Sauve-Majeure, while Bernard de Boga ceded his hereditary rights "into the hand of La-Sauve-Majeure's Abbot Peter" (de Ambasia, 1126-1147). At a subsequent ceremony at the altar of the Church of Boga, other heirs of rights of the church ceded those right to Abbot Peter, with the presbyters of the church witnessing, including Espaniolo de Doat.[153]

In addition to the people with origins in Iberia, there are also people from central France who themselves or their families had a close association with Iberia. The Gardona family in Perigord was a lesser nobility clan, with a tradition of vassalage to the Counts of Perigord and La Marche, and likely participated with them in the Iberian military campaign for Zaragoza.[154] The counts of La Marche and the Counts of Toulouse were related to the Counts of Barcelona through Almodis de La Marche's marriages in the eleventh century, first to Pons Guillaume, Count of Toulouse and then to Raymond Berenger I, Count of Barcelona. Her children from both marriages tied the rulers of Toulouse, Barcelona and La Marche into fraternal alliances in the twelfth century.

In the documents of Saint-Sernin, the Hospitallers, and Sainte-Foy de Conques, members of the Gardona family and their associates appear as donors and witnesses for the Count of

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151 SMC, doc.1250.

152 SMC, doc.165.

153 SMC, doc.865.

154 For the participation of Dukes of Perigord and La Marche in Iberian Crusade, see Defourneux, *Les Francais en Espagne,* 139-164.

Perigord, the Viscount of Angoulême. When the church of Saint-Marie-de-Landarror, with its clerics and properties, was given to Saint-Sernin-de-Toulouse, the gift was guaranteed by Arnold Viscount of Angoulême and Ebrardus de Gardona, among others.[155] Another particpant was William Forto, an associate of the Duke of Aquitaine, another participant in Iberian military campaigns, including the assault on Zaragoza.

Iberians in France

With all of these cross-Pyreneen connections and the associated travel for various purposes, it is not surprising to see evidence of Iberian interaction in the names of people in north of the Pyrenees. In 1131, when Thomas de Cociaco and his wife and children donated exemption from any censum on the harvest of their vineyard or the transport of its wine to the monks of La-Sauve-Majeure, among the witnesses was Sarrecenus, castellan of Fara, along with other nobility of the area.[156] We also see the significance of Iberia in the community of La-Sauve-Majeure frequently in the first and last names used. 'Hispania' and its many variations was used often as a female first name and as a descriptive geographic identifier for either gender. Espaniol was also used as a first name for males, and also as a surname, as in Ebrart Espaignols, a castellan from the Perigord.[157]

Similar names connoting Arabophone or Iberian background appear in the records of the Cathedral of Bayonne, Sainte-Foy and Saint-Sernin, as well. Galin Musa was a witness to the sale of a *terra* to Sainte-Marie of Bayonne, Musa being an Arabic form of Moses. Elsewhere, P. Sarracenus, as a witness for the city, participated in a gift to the cathedral of Bayonne between 1150 and 1170. In 1187 he was a witness to a dispute settlement over the decimas of a mill. In 1194, he was also a witness when the Church of Bayonne sent a list of its properties and rights to

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155 SST, doc.232, CNQ, doc.52, HOS, doc.35.

156 SCM, doc.1387.

157 The variations include Yspania, Hispania, Espania as both a woman's first name and a geographic identifying surname with 'de' and Espaniol, Ispaniolus, Espaignols as either a first name or a surname without 'de'. See SMC, docs.416, 157, 573, 609, 129, 130, 546, 865, 197, 576, 1036, 921, 960, 962, 963, 986, 1117.

the pope in order to have them confirmed by him.[158] In Campagnac, around the same period, Rainald, known as Sarracenus, gave property to Sainte-Foy for his son's benefit when he was accepted by the abbot.[159] In the same area, an Aldebert known as Sarracin, was given a manse with a lamb, four *garbas*, and three men for vicaria, in Campagnac and a manse in Petra, in exchange for releasing a claim to the house he held from the monastery.[160] Aldebert may have been a relative or descendent of Rainald. Neither of these transactions are dated but they can be bracketed to sometime in the eleventh century. In 1060 Lord Hugo of Calmont, with the counsel of Count Robert of Rodez and the authority of the bishop Peter, gave the monastery of Persa to Sainte-Foy and abbot Odolric. At the same time he gave a mansum in Bagos, and a mansum in Valcergua in Fabrigues, saltworks in Spelei. Amongst the lords of Calmont who conceded and received some recompense from Sainte-Foy was Dominus Johannes de Roqua and Peter Serrazinus, who held another half of the presbyter fief and half of the decimus of Parsa. Witnesses to this donation were both Peter and Rainald Serrazin and their brothers who held an interest in the monastery of Persa of 300 solidos Raimundian.[161] The cognomen Sarracen as well as the simple surname Sarrazin both appear in the region of Rodez and are perhaps the same family.[162] While Muslim raiders may have been in this area of France in the eleventh century, it is more likely that the cognomen was earned by way of the trans-Pyrennean that have been elucidated.

The interactions with Iberia were evidenced in other ways. A census of 1266 lists many people whose names evoke Spanish origins or connections including first names derived from

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158 LOB Doc. 32, 43, and 56. Celestine's bull confirming the cathedral's property is the heart of doc. 56 but embedded within the bull is the petition from the cathedral witnessed by the good citizens and dignitaries of Bayonne, including P. Sarracenus.

159 CNQ, doc.187.

160 CNQ, doc.188.

161 CNQ, doc.572.

162 The name is also found in the charters of Grandselve so it may be more common. See Mireille Mousnier, *L'abbaye cistercienne de Grandselve et sa place dans l'économie et la société méridionales (XIIe-XIVe siècles)*, Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2006.

Iberian place names. There were first names of Navarra or Navarrus and surnames of de Faied, de Pont de Reyna, Espaine, de Maier, and Bastan scattered amongst the parish lists of Bayonne. Ebrardus Espainols, a member of a prominent castellan family from Perigord, made donations to Sainte-Foy around 1080.[163] It is possible his donation was made on his way to or from military actions with the Count of Perigord in Barbastro. A witness to a twelfth-century donation to Sainte-Foy of the villa of Prades in Rodez was witnessed by Guiralz de las Salas-Salas was near Oviedo along the route to Compostella in Gallicia. Raimund Hispanus was a witness to a gift made by four siblings of their holding in the *honore* of Mont Madlagarii.[164] Arnald de Spania witnessed a donation by Willelmus Galterius with his son, confirmed by his two other children, Bernard and Arnald of a part of their holding in the Agenais.[165] In 1177, Pons Stephani of Iacca's daughter, Bonafos, "gave to Saint-Sernin all that she had in decima, in c*ollectionibu*s, and in *serventaticis decimarum*, from Clauso Morati and Gorgairast and Comba Salomon just as brave Pons Stephani, my father, or any man or any woman of my family held between Ercium and Garonne."[166]

Over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, French connections with the Iberian Peninsula grew into a web of associations. Defensive alliances led to intermarriages, and intermarriages led to military offensive campaigns. Military conquest produced incentives to become involved in Iberia and led to investment and interest in travel to Iberia, particularly pilgrimage. Church reforms and concerns with Iberian hetrodoxy led to evangelizing efforts by the Occitan church, while they also promoted Iberian pilgrimage and reconquest. As Islamic territory was captured, Occitan monasteries and churches gained Iberian properties, leading to more interest and involvement in Iberia. Management of Iberian properties required more and more people to cross the Pyrenees in both directions. As a result, more and more people came

163 CNQ, doc.52, for more on this family, see SAI documents related to the priory of Saint-Silvan in Perigord.

164 SST, doc.271.

165 SST, doc.537.

166 SST, doc.51.

into contact with complex, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic Iberian context, where Arabophone and Romance-speaking culture had been in dialogue for centuries.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CULTURAL REVERBERATIONS IN OCCITANIA

In the previous chapters we have examined the evidence of the degree of intercultural interaction in the Iberian peninsula, and intercultural interaction between certain areas of Southern France and Iberia. From the ninth century to the eve of the Albigensian Crusade and the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, cross cultural contact between Iberian Arabic speakers and Iberian Romance speakers occurred with increasing frequency and intimacy in the Iberian peninsula, as exemplified by twelfth century *medina/urbs* like Toledo and Huesca. At the same time, from at least the eleventh century onward, Occitan men, along with some Occitan women, travelled with increasing frequency to and from Iberia, while many Iberians travelled in the opposite directions. The story of these contacts leave us with many unanswered questions. If Southern France was, in essence, a borderland, standing between multilingual and multi-religioned Iberia and the rest of Europe, what was the effect on Southern France? Two possible areas of interest are briefly mentioned here: courtly life and religion.

If we return to the idea of a shared artistic sensibility, a pluritopic courtly culture, discussed in Chapter 4, we might expect to find reverberations from Iberian contact in courtly culture.[167] Cynthia Robinson argues this is the case, particularly regarding troubadour poetry, courtly love, and other arts that defined courtliness. Her most recent study of Mediterranean courtly culture, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Medieval Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1065-1135,* takes up exactly this issue: the nature of Andalusi and Provençal courtly culture and their relationship to each other. Her work ends with the court, poetry and *objets d'art* of William IX Duke of Aquitaine and his *companhos*, but her examination of courtly culture begins over a century earlier, despite the title's central chronological focus.[168] The Cordoban sovereign, whether emir or caliph, sought to distinguish his court through careful cultivation of

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[167] See Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," in *Art History,* Vol. 24, No. 1, Feb. 2001, 17-50 discussed in Chapter 4.

[168] Robinson, Cynthia, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134 A.D.,* Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002.

intellectual pursuits. As Robinson describes it, "the adoption and propagation of the *persona* of the "courtly" courtier through literary production and performance served initially, to create and solidify relationships between members of the educated nobility with power or potential power vis-a-vis the ruling entity."[169] That is, literary production was an integral part of the patronage system supporting the ruling power. Eventually, though, it was the *persona* of the 'courtly' sovereign that was at the heart of courtly culture, wherein the sovereign himself actively practiced the courtly art of poetry. Under al-Mansur (938-1002), poets and other learned men would gather at court to study *adab, khabar, fiqh,* and *tibb* (literature, anecdotes of famous persons, law, and medicine), among other things. In these pursuits, the Andalusi court was following precedents from the East of the 'scholar caliph,' as well as earlier Andalusi rulers.[170]

Just after the turn of the eleventh century this courtly culture was transplanted to and repurposed by the *fitna* and *taifa* courts of post-Caliphate Iberia. As these decentralized powers sought to assert their own legitimacy, courtly arts performed in intimate spaces reinforced the bonds between emirs and their courtiers. In the gardens (*munyas)* and salons of palatial complexes, like that at Zaragoza's Aljafería, the space was designed for equals, for companions, to pursue pleasure and repose rather than for ceremonial assertions of authority. While public ceremonies were performed at the inter-mural palace in Zaragoza, the extra-mural Aljafería's elaborate, mesmerizingly decorated spaces were reserved for the elites and their courtiers.[171] The disorienting, dreamlike nature of this retreat is captured by Ibn Hamdīs thus, "Oh Palace! If your vision is darkened by its light, you must endeavor to look upon it again. Clarity is forgotten,

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169 Robinson, *In Praise of Song,* 116.

170 Ibid., 117. This shift described by Robinson does not mean that there were no 'courtly' sovereigns before Al-Mansur, only that the sensibility shifted after this point to focus on the sovereign and his peers, rather than courtiers in service to the sovereign.

171 Ibid., 48-87. Robinson analyzes the design of the space of the Aljafería in detail, noting that the spaces were not grand promenades and spacious audience rooms but more like a labrynth with dizzyingly detailed ornamentation that was almost surreal and disorienting. There was no clear path toward an ultimate receiving room. The important decorations were below eye level, designed to be viewed by people seated on carpets rather than standing. Here the sovereign entertained his *majlis-uns* as they meditated on the garden foliage.

along with the beautiful, at its mention..."[172] The space so described was an intimate space for repose and reflection, rather than a ceremonial or religious space.

By the eleventh century, the ethos of this courtly culture had seeped from the *taifa* courts of the borderlands between Islamic and Christian Iberia into Romance culture. Even before the fall of the caliphate, the Christian court at Pamplona was tied to Al-Mansur, whose wife, Urraca, was the daughter of King Sancho II of Pamplona (d. 994). Over the eleventh century, alliances, intermarriages and vassalage, permitted the Christian nobility access to these intimate court spaces, such as the Aljafería, as diplomats, envoys, or even hostages.

Yet, the issue of literary influence, between al-Andalus and Romance lands as well as between the Eastern Islamic world and al-Andalus, has been a contentious one as we have seen. While some disagree, Robinson argues that the main direction of influence was from Eastern Arabic poetry to Iberian forms, rather than there being Romance influence on Arabic forms. She bases her argument on the chronology of known works and the maturity and diversity of the art form in the two spheres. The Eastern Arabic practice of courtly poetry dates back much further than in al-Andalus, and the variety of forms and their development is much greater in the East. Even so, within Arabic the dialogue was not one-sided, as Eastern poets adopted the *muwashsha'*s mix of vernacular and classical Arabic verse and the form itself represents a dialogue.[173]

In looking for a path of transmission of these poetic forms to Southern France, those who see a significant debt to al-Andalus often articulate a rather narrow transmission path, via captive singing girls at the court of Duke William VIII of Aquitaine, known as Guy-Geoffrey. Since Guy-Geoffrey received some of the "1000 slave girls" that formed part of the booty from the 1063 sacking of Barbastro, his son, William IX, the troubadour, would have witnessed and been

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172 Ibid., 199.

173 "The Muwashsha" in *The Literature of al-Andalus*, Robinson, *The Making of Courtly Culture,* Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History,*

inspired by the performance of Andalusi lyric from a young age.[174] This is, at best, a short-hand for a longer, more widespread process. Given the length and depth of Iberian *convivencia* and the concurrent Ibero-French entanglements articulated in earlier chapters, however, a longer process of acculturation seems much more plausible, one beginning at least with the Cordoban court diaspora during the *fitna* of the early eleventh century and encompassing the absorption by Castile and Aragon of longheld Islamic cities in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this centuries-long process, the courts of the northern Iberian Christian kingdoms of the eleventh century acted as a link between al-Andalus and the courts of Southern France. Nobility from Gascony, Aquitaine, Toulouse and others would have been exposed to Iberian courtly culture repeatedly as they travelled to Iberia to negotiate marriages and military alliances, and conduct business or make pilgrimages.

Consistent Themes and Ideas: Troubadours and Courtliness

The argument over influence in the *inventio* of troubadour poetry demonstrates the problems in framing issues about cultural influence. The search for a smoking gun in the form of written translations or the insistence on a precise replication of a cultural artifact on either side of a cultural divide is a distortion of the process of acculturation. Culture is most often adapted and transposed from one site to another, rather than translated per se.[175] But thematic consistencies were also present between Andalusian and Provencal lyrics and writings on courtly love. In both Arabic and Romance, courtliness was a popular subject of poets, to be interrogated "through inversion, subversion, irony and straightforward acceptance," with all of these approaches serving to reinforce the norms of courtly behavior.[176]

Despite these similarities in form, themes, and message, there is still the question of language. In order for such borrowing to occur, it is necessary that information traversed the

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[174] See discussion in Chapter 1, particularly of Boase's articulation of this theory.

[175] Robinson suggests the terms transposed rather than translated-since literal translation was rare.

[176] Robinson, *In Praise of Song,* 284.

linguistic divide. Given the degree of interaction between Arabophones and Romance speakers in the Iberian Peninsula, as demonstrated in the previous chapters particularly in the Arabic records of Toulouse but also in records going back to the tenth century in Castile, we must assume high degree of bilingualism among some portion of the population.[177] Whatever the actual rate of bilingualism in the Christian North, as Mallette has demonstrated for the Sicilian context, it was not necessary to know Arabic in order to have an awareness of Arabic literature. There is also reason to suspect multilingualism in Navarre and other Christian courts, where intermarriages and alliances with Andalusi courts would have made Arabic fluency very important and natural. The Aragonese king, Pedro I's Arabic signature was less an anomaly and more an extension of this useful bilingualism into writing.

If we assume Iberian acculturation as being part of the impetus for the sudden growth of troubadour lyric, the geography of early troubadours affirms that assumption, with most twelfth century troubadours coming from areas with strong and multifaceted ties to Iberia.[178] The connections between William IX of Aquitaine (d. 1126), personally and through his family, have been discussed at length in the previous chapter. Another early troubadour, Jaufré Rudel de Blaia (d. c.1145) was also from Aquitaine and spent time at the courts of Aquitaine and Angoulême, dying on the Second Crusade. Marcabru (d. c.1150) was likely from Aquitaine as well and spent time at courts in Gascony, including Alfonse Jordain's court in Toulouse, as well as at Alfonso VII's court in Castile. Arnaut Mireuil (d. c.1200) was from Perigord but was patronized by the counts of Toulouse and Béziers. Gaucelm Faidit was from Uzerche in the Limousin but travelled widely including to Spain and other parts of France. Peire Vidal (d.1205) was associated with the court of Raymond V of Toulouse. Arnaut Daniel was from Riberac

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[177] Mallette, studying the very similar circumstances of thirteenth century Sicily, argues that there was 'cultural plurality' in these areas, where people were conversant at some level in a plurality of cultures. The motivations and rewards for bilingualism would be especially present at court. The mastery of languages was considered an important asset for Arab sovereigns and courtiers so that bilingualism was likely common in Andalusi courts, at least. Robinson, 307.

[178] Most of what we know about the world of the troubadours comes from biographical material attached to their work, and some written after their death by.

between Bordeaux and Perigord. Raimon de Miraval (d. 1220) was patronized by the viscount of Carcassone and Béziers, Pierre Raimon Trenceval. Bertran de Born (d.1215) worked in the area of Limousin and Perigord. John Mundy, using the *vitae* of the thirteenty century, as well as other evidence, lists twenty troubadours from the area of Toulouse in the twelfth century.[179] As we can see, troubadour poetry emerged and blossomed in precisely the areas one would expect for an, Iberian inspired, Arabic influenced courtly art. After a century of intensifying interaction with the Christian Iberian kingdoms, the Occitan nobility adopted an attractive feature of Andalusi court life and adapted it to their needs.

In addition to lyric poetry, there is also evidence the courts of Southern France adopted and adapted the pluritopic aesthetic of Andalusian court life more broadly, embracing *objets d'art* as well as pastimes. The Eleanor vase, as it is called, fits with the spread of portable luxury items that circulated the Mediterranean as gifts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, producing a shared artistic sensibility, where luxury items imitated Eastern tastes no matter where they were found to have been made. The Eleanor vase was from the eastern reaches of the Islamic world, likely produced in Sassanid Persia in the seventh century.[180] However, Robinson's work examines another artifact of this period of luxury trade, but one produced in France, the Limoges casket. The casket is an example of how adaptive cultural borrowing often was. Like the Arabic inspired Provencal verse, the Limoges casket bears a distinct resemblance to an Iberian model, but is not an exact duplication. The Limoges casket, produced in Limoges between 1180-1190, and the Pamplona casket, created for Sayf al-Dawla in 1004-5, are both decorated with scenes depicting court life in very similar fashion. However, the Limoges casket's construction, rather

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179 John Hines Mundy, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars,* Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006, 185-194.

180 George Beech presents the evidence for this provenance in his article, " The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase: Its Origins and Histoory to the Mid-12th Century, " *Ars Orientalis,* Vol. 22, 1992, 69-79, in which he argues that of the most likely producers of rock crystal vases in the early Middle Ages, Byzantium, Egypt, and Persia, Persia is the most likely source of this object based on the vase's honeycomb decoration very common in Persian designs of the period. He also touches on the subject in his book, *The Brief Emminence and Doomed Fall of Islamic Zaragoza,"* 214-215.

than purely imitative, is also consistent with local tastes and functionality. It used an inexpensive but developed local production technique, enamel overlays, and was likely produced for sale to a noble aspiring to courtly associations. The Limoges casket took an eleventh century Iberian form and adapted it to the needs, tastes and budget of twelfth-century Limousin nobility. The Zaragozan casket on the other hand, was crafted for a specific patron out of a rare and expensive material (ivory) that would represent the recipient's truly high status. It was likely commissioned to curry favor at court, whereas the Limoges casket was meant to associate the purchaser with courtliness, in an area where patronage was important but a different institution than in Andalusi political circles. Thus, in poetry, definitions of courtliness, and *objets d'art* we see the same pattern of reverberations in areas with long term interactions with Iberia.

Pyreneean Pathways

In this work, two acculturating borderlands have been examined. One lay in areas that brought Andalusi Iberians from the Arabo-Islamic sphere and Northern Iberians from the Latinate Christian sphere into contact which accelerated over the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The other lay north of the Pyrenees, where Occitan people and Iberians came into contact. These borderlands overlapped, in some sense, as Frenchmen also inhabited the Iberian borderlands as well, but they had distinct features. The Iberian borderlands' contact was so intimate, long-standing, and continuous that the cultural effects led to a very complex dialogue reflected in the governance, art, agriculture, and social structures of the peninsula. On the other hand, in the Occitan borderlands the contact was more intermittent, more distant, and more short-lived than its Iberian counterpart, leading to a more supreficial dialogue. Still, as has been shown in Chapter Five, the Occitan cross-cultural contact was significant and involved certain areas in a multifacted and ongoing manner. In areas like Aquitaine, Gascony, and Toulouse where monasteries and their personnel, nobles and their military vassals, and pilgrims and other travellers all moved frequently across the frontier, an ongoing cross-cultural dialogue occurred, affecting both sides of the conversation.

Unraveling exactly the source of any one cultural or economic change is perhaps a fool's errand. Cultural borrowing is so common that it leaves little to attest to it. Moreover, cultural borrowing always involves a process of interpretation, sometimes very imperfectly, that transforms whatever is borrowed. Besides borrowing, cross-cultural dialogues' effect is felt in negative constructions, as well, as awareness of others allows us to define ourselves againt their otherness. In addition, besides Iberia, in this period Southern France was also involved in Holy Land Crusades, Norman Sicily, Italy, and England, so the opportunities for cross-cultural stimulation, especially in the twelfth century, were many. Still, the length, breadth and depth of Occitan contact across the Pyrenees produced a cross-cultural dialogue that caused reverberations in religious thought, courtly arts, and doubtless many more areas.

Other areas may prove as fruitful when we look for influene across the Pyrenees. There is considerable distance between the confusion of heresy, paganism, and Islam in the Song of Roland and the increased awareness of Islam, Judaism and heresy in the works of twelfth-century churchmen such as Peter the Venerable of Cluny and Alan of Lille. Particularly with regard to heresy, it would be a mistake to confuse the epithets of Pope Gregory VII with any intellectual religious movement. Still, some of the critiques of Christianity by Islam parallel anti-clerical heresies of twelfth-century Christendom. That this parallel exists does not necessarily mean anything more than a certain cosmopolitan attitude toward religious doctrines on both sides of the Pyrenees. Not surprisingly, areas along the routes to Compostela are among the areas where this cosmopolitan attitude took root. While these routes were likely used for all kinds of traffic, the towns along the way would have seen a fair amount of travellers from across the Pyrenees from the tenth century onwards. As we saw in the last chapter, some of the stops along these routes--Sauve Majeure, Sainte-Foy-de-Conques, Saint-Pons-de Thomières, Oleron, Saint-Severin-de-Toulouse--had longstanding relationships with and filiations in Iberian kingdoms. Although not on a marked pilgrimage route, Cluny in Burgundy, near where Peter of Bruys and Henry of Lausanne were first identified, was also a destination for travellers to and from Iberia, particularly on their way to Rome. While the Iberian Peninsula was not West Europeans' only

point of contact with other monotheisms, with Islamic and Jewish perspectives on Christianity, or with Zoroastrian influenced dualism, it was one of the closest, the most long-standing, and the most frequent, especially before the First Crusade brought large numbers of French eastward.

The argument is not that Iberian travel and connections was the sole influence that created anti-clerical feelings and turned people away from orthodoxy (however poorly that was understood at the time) and toward any particular set of heretical beliefs but that cultural diffusion perhaps disrupted the easy acceptance of Church authority and created an atmosphere in which challenges to Church doctrine were tolerated, seemed reasonable, and were allowed to develop. As Beverly Kienzle noted, "certainly Cathar beliefs and the courtly love of the troubadours were tolerated in the same milieu, even though they did not proceed from the same principles. Some Occitan nobles protected both Cathars and troubadours."[181] If we ask ourselves why might the people in the Aquitaine, Gascony, and Toulouse be receptive to both heterodox religious ideas and new, Iberian-influenced courtly culture, the cultural diffusion from across the Pyrenees seems a fruitful vein of inquiry.

Another area that has proven fruitful is architecture, with scholars able to track some of the artisans who crossed the Pyrenees and worked across Occitania. A similar exploration of art on a smaller scale, the *objets d'art* that were discussed here briefly, might also uncover more influence from across the Pyrenees. In short, since we must recognize that Occitan people were in long-standing, widespread, and intense contact with the multi-cultural Iberian peninsula, it is likely that other areas of influence can be identified in time.

Since most cultural influence occurs with very little explicit acknowledgment in our written sources, in order to understand the implications of cross-cultural contact requires not just a comparative approach but also a broad recognition of the sloppy process of informal absorption of foreign influences, using all of the senses, and all registers of cultural exchange. If we

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181 Kienzle, *Heresy, Crusade and Cistercians*, p. 49-50.

recognize that it is human nature to adopt what appears useful, even if it is imperfectly understood, even if it is significantly adapted or naturalized to fit the context of the borrower, we may see more influence than would otherwise be recognized. Overly rigourous comparisons and rigid expectations of our written sources will deceive us into believing European borders were impermeable except in exceptional circumstances. The frontier experience in Iberia, Occitania, and many other places, proves otherwise.

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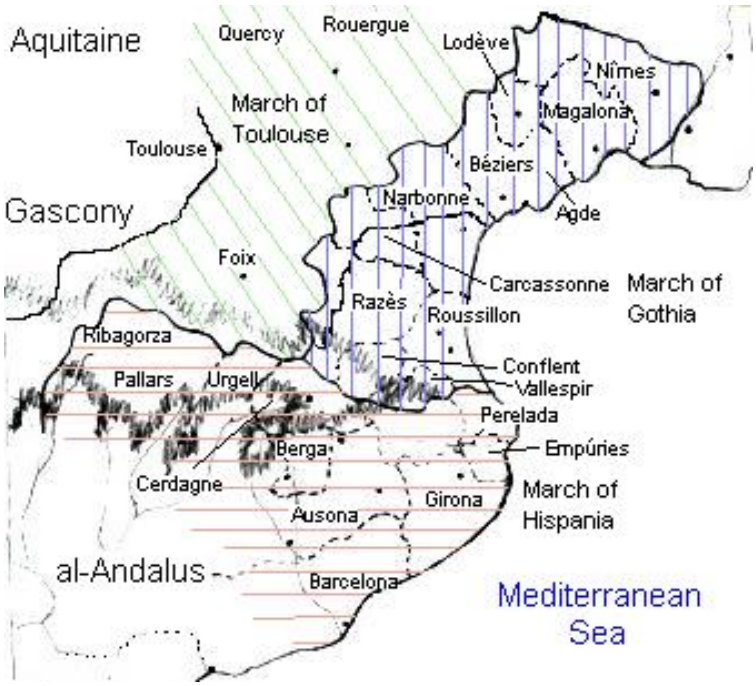
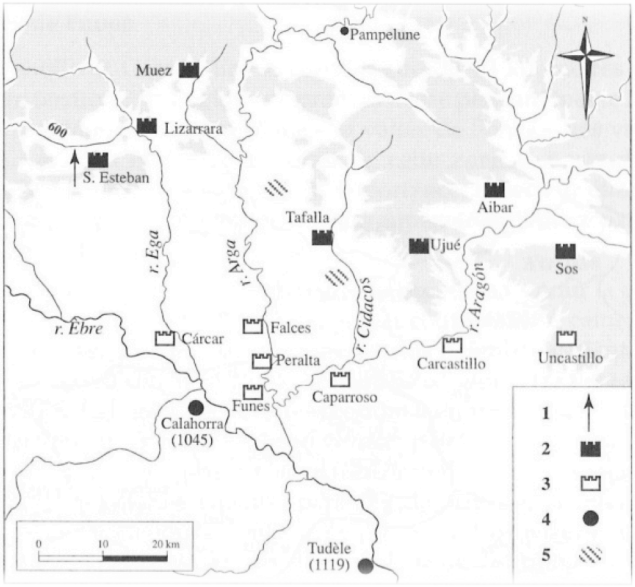
APPENDIX

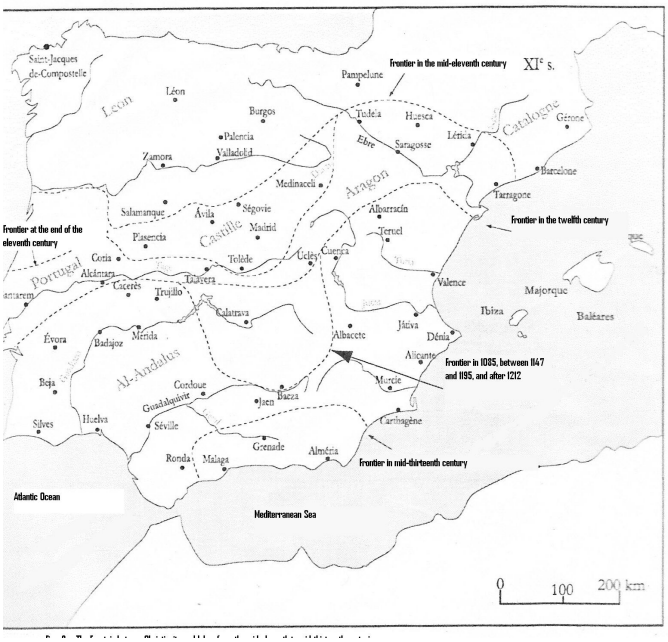
Map-A-1 Spanish March



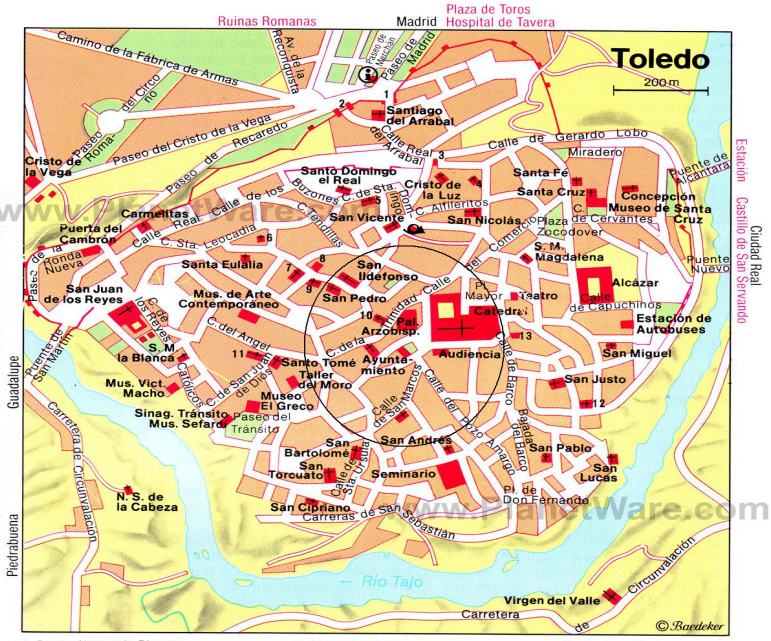
Map-A2 Eleventh-Century Iberian Frontier



Map A-3 Twelfth-Century Iberian Frontier

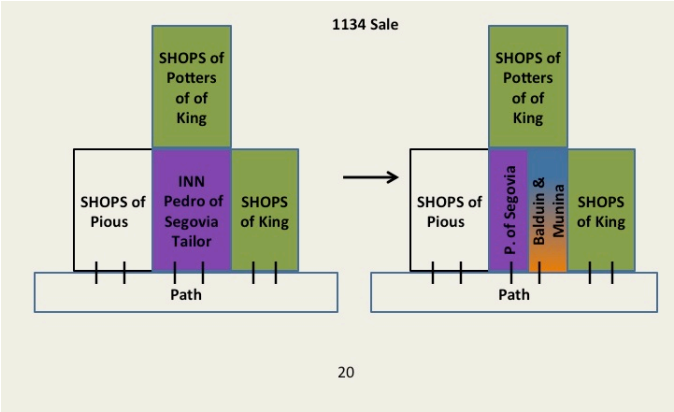


Map A-4 Cathedral Neighborhood in the city of Toledo



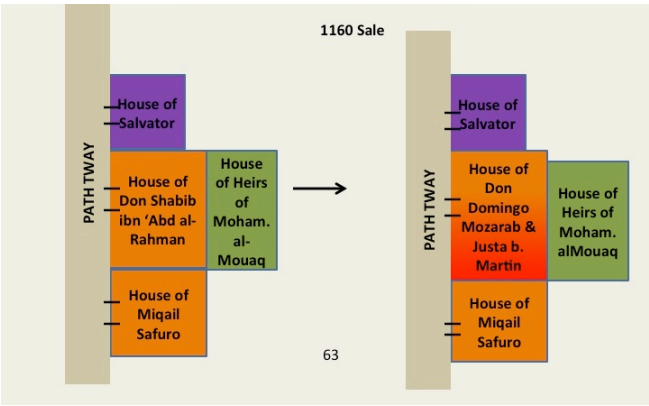
1 Puerta Nueva de Bisagra
2 Puerta Vieja de Bisagra
3 Puerta del Sol
4 San José
5 Santa Clara
6 Santa Domingo el Antiguo
7 San Clemente
8 Casa de Mesa
9 San Román
10 Jesús y María
11 San Antonio de Padua
12 San Juan de la Penitencia
13 Posada de la Hermandad

Map A-5 LMT 20: 1134 Toledo Neighborhood integration

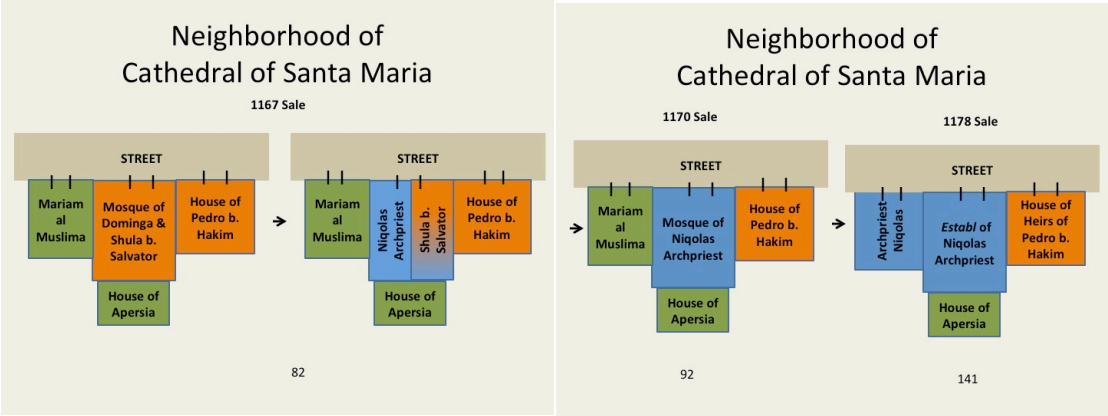


Map A-6 LMT 27: 1139 Toledo Neighborhood integration

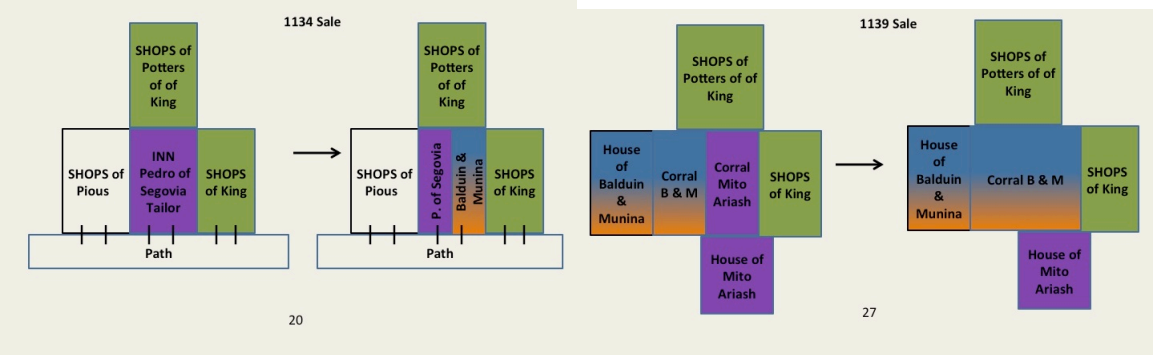
Map A-7 LMT 63 :1160 Toledo Neighborhood integration


1160 Sale
PATH TWAY
House of Salvator
House of Don Shabib ibn 'Abd al-Rahman
House of Heirs of Moham. al-Mouaq
House of Miqail Safuro
PATH TWAY
House of Salvator
House of Don Domingo Mozarab & Justa b. Martin
House of Heirs of Moham. alMouaq
House of Miqail Safuro
63

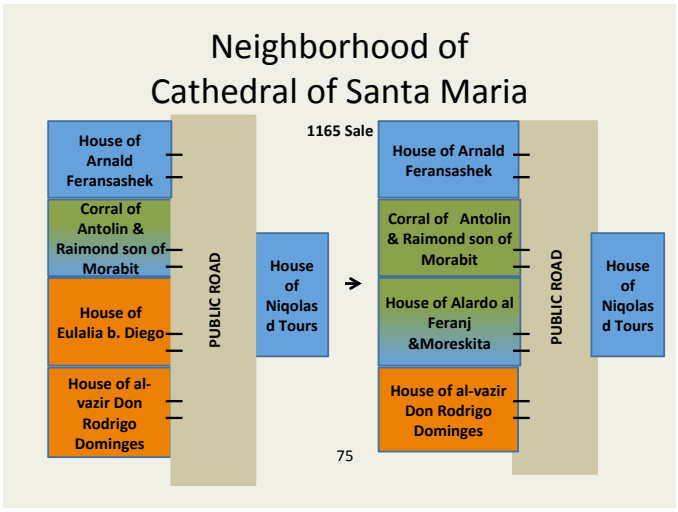
Map A-8 LMT 82, 83, 141: 1167-1179 Toledo Mosque Sales



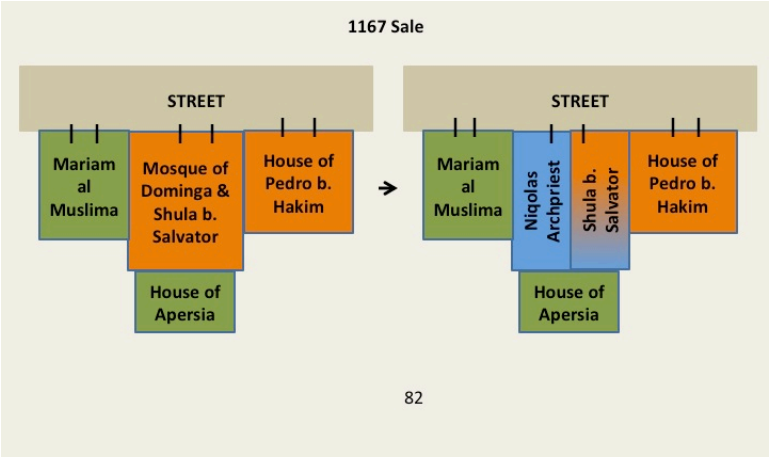
Map A-9 LMT 27 and 20: 1139 and 1134 Toledo Intermarriage



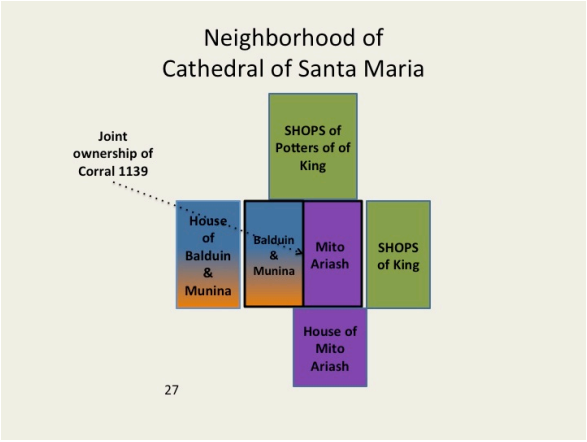
Map A-10 LMT 75: Toledo French-Muslim Intermarriage

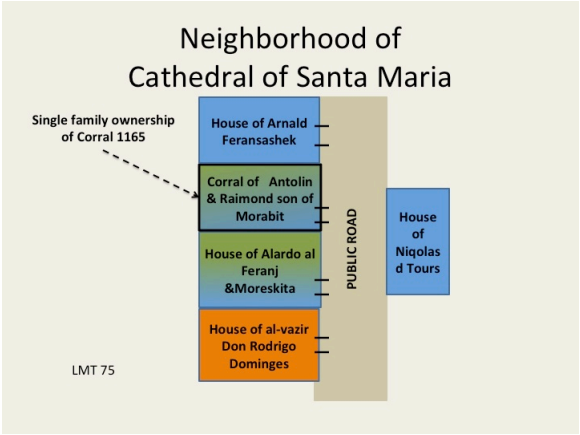

Neighborhood of
Cathedral of Santa Maria
House of Arnald Feransashek
Corral of Antolin & Raimond son of Morabit
House of Eulalia b. Diego
House of al-vazir Don Rodrigo Dominges
PUBLIC ROAD
House of Niqolas d Tours
1165 Sale
House of Arnald Feransashek
Corral of Antolin & Raimond son of Morabit
House of Alardo al Feranj &Moreskita
House of al-vazir Don Rodrigo Dominges
PUBLIC ROAD
House of Niqolas d Tours
75

Map A-11 LMT 82: 1167 Sale of half of a mosque

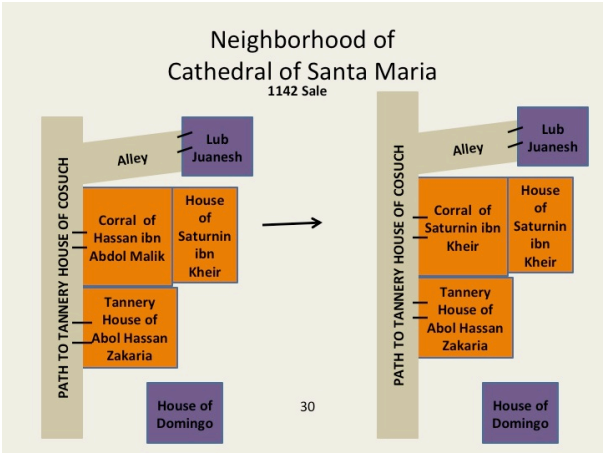


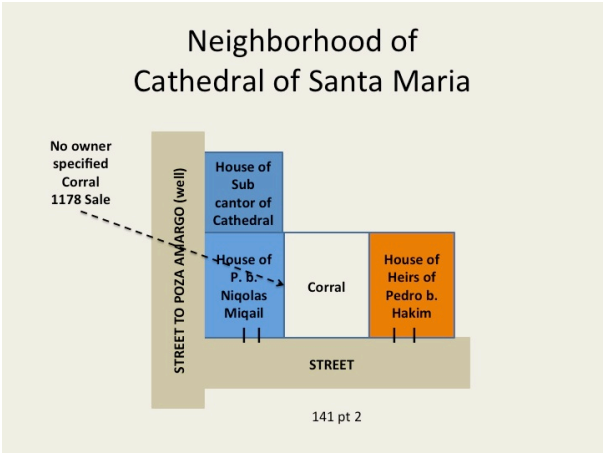
Map A-12 LMT 27 and 75: Co-owned Corral



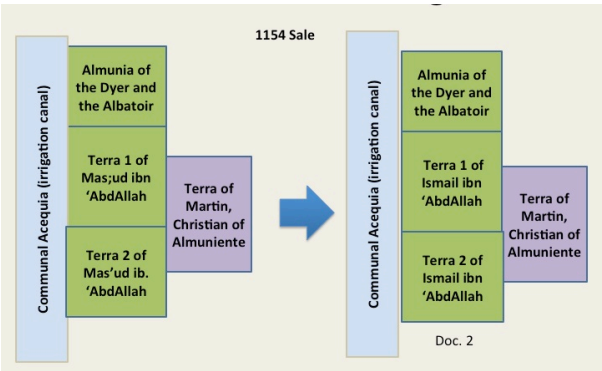

Neighborhood of Cathedral of Santa Maria
Single family ownership of Corral 1165
House of Arnald Feransashek
Corral of Antolin & Raimond son of Morabit
House of Alardo al Feranj &Moreskita
House of al-vazir Don Rodrigo Dominges
PUBLIC ROAD
House of Niqolas d Tours
LMT 75

Map A-13 LMT 30 1142 Unowned Corral

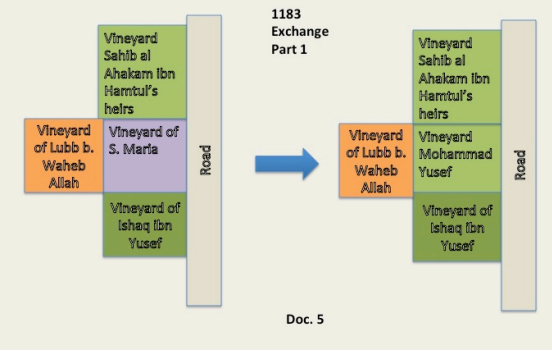


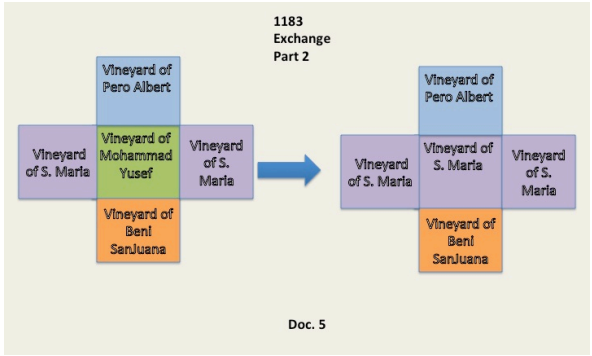

Neighborhood of Cathedral of Santa Maria
No owner specified Corral 1178 Sale
STREET TO POZA AMARGO (well)
House of Sub cantor of Cathedral
House of P. b. Niqolas Miqail
Corral
House of Heirs of Pedro b. Hakim
STREET
141 pt 2

Map A-14 DAH 2 1154 Huesca Community Integration

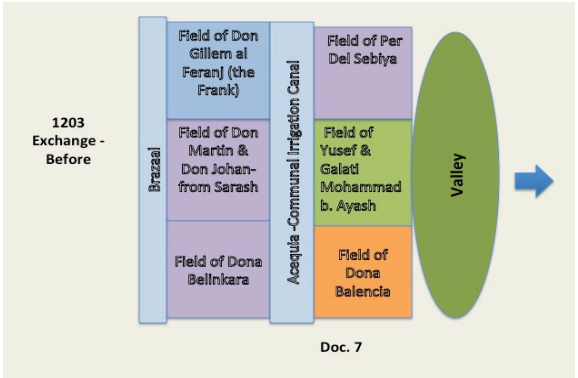

1154 Sale
Communal Acequia (irrigation canal)
Almunia of the Dyer and the Albatoir
Terra 1 of Mas;ud ibn 'AbdAllah
Terra 2 of Mas'ud ib. 'AbdAllah
Terra of Martin, Christian of Almuniente
Communal Acequia (irrigation canal)
Almunia of the Dyer and the Albatoir
Terra 1 of Ismail ibn 'AbdAllah
Terra 2 of Ismail ibn 'AbdAllah
Terra of Martin, Christian of Almuniente
Doc. 2

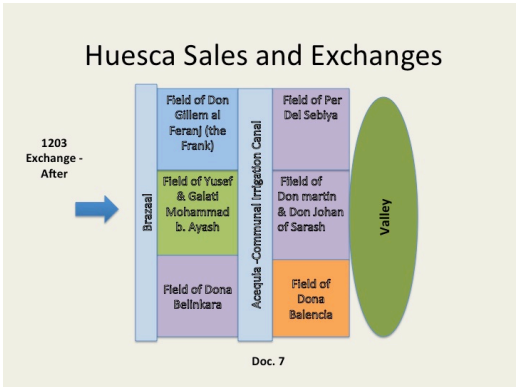
Map A-15 DAH 5 1183 Huesca Exchanges Increasing Integration


1183 Exchange Part 1
Vineyard Sahib al Ahakam ibn Hamtul's heirs
Vineyard of Lubb b. Waheb Allah
Vineyard of S. Maria
Vineyard of Ishaq ibn Yusef
Road
Vineyard Sahib al Ahakam ibn Hamtul's heirs
Vineyard of Lubb b. Waheb Allah
Vineyard Mohammad Yusef
Vineyard of Ishaq ibn Yusef
Road
Doc. 5

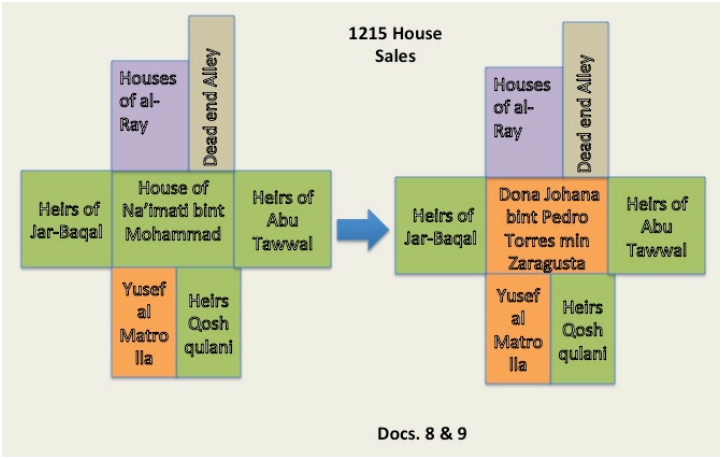


Map A-16 DAH 7 1203 Huesca Exchange Community with Irrigation


1203 Exchange - Before
Brazal
Field of Don Gillem al Feranj (the Frank)
Field of Don Martin & Don Johan- from Sarash
Field of Dona Belinkara
Acequia -Communal Irrigation Canal
Field of Per Del Sebiya
Field of Yusef & Galati Mohammad b. Ayash
Field of Dona Balencia
Valley
Doc. 7


Huesca Sales and Exchanges
1203 Exchange - After
Brazal
Field of Don Gillem al Feranj (the Frank)
Field of Yusef & Galati Mohammad b. Ayash
Field of Dona Belinkara
Acequia -Communal Irrigation Canal
Field of Per Del Sebiya
Field of Don martin & Don Johan of Sarash
Field of Dona Balencia
Valley
Doc. 7

Map A-17 DAH 8 and 9: 1215 House Sales by Muslim Law in Huesca



Map A-18 Pilgrimage Routes through Southern France and Northern Iberia